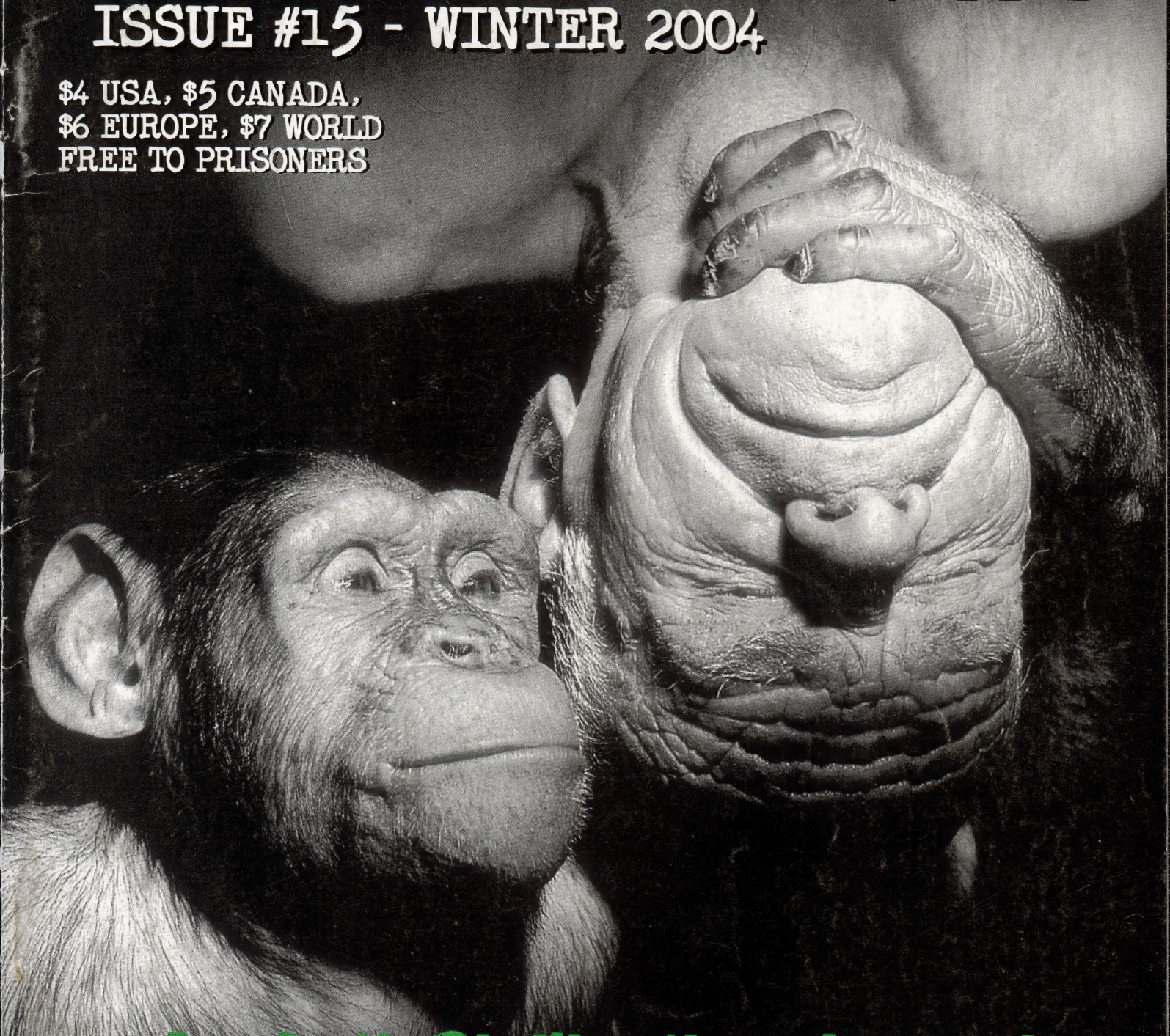


GREEN ANARCHY

ISSUE #15 - WINTER 2004

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FREE TO PRISONERS



*An Anti-Civilization Journal
of Theory and Action!*



CIVILIZATION

"What else do you do there except lie — lie to yourself and others, lie about everything, you recognize in your heart to be true? You're obliged to pretend respect for people and institutions you think absurd. You live attached in a cowardly fashion to moral and social conventions you despise, condemn, and know lack all foundation. It is that permanent contradiction between your ideas and desires and all the dead formalities and vain pretenses of your civilization which makes you sad, troubled and unbalanced. In that intolerable conflict you lose all joy of life and all feeling of personality, because at every moment they suppress and restrain and check the free play of your powers. That's the poisoned and mortal wound of the civilized world." - Octave Mirbeau, *The Torture Garden*



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GREEN ANARCHY

ISSUE #15 - WINTER 2004

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Winter Reflections

It is possible that 2004 will be a pivotal year, a turning point. If so, U.S. presidential politics will play no significant role.

The new movement, generally called "anti-globalization", is now four years old, counting from anti-WTO Seattle. Though adversely affected by 9/11/01, we may be at or near a "make-or-break" time. Can we go forward against the might of empire on its various fronts, or will we back down and begin to fade?

It's very clear that empire faces resistance around the globe. Even if the capture of bin Laden were to follow the mid-December bagging of Saddam Hussein, the picture would not change. But thankfully neither the theocratic statism of the one nor the secular dictatorship of the other in any way exhausts the varieties of opposition to the dominant powers.

In our hemisphere, the rise of indigenous movements, from British Columbia to Chile, constitutes the most important development in recent years. This varied insurgency is vastly more significant than the half-dozen new leftist regimes in South America, which have appeared in response to neoliberal economic pressures. Now they run their respective national economies in no fundamentally different ways than did the politicians who preceded them.

Our green anarchy or "primitivism" orientation seeks to learn from indigenous modes, from that which runs counter to the murderous modern world system. Rather than seeking a place in the hive of global production and consumption, we seek a different way of living.

We face two challenges: to create and implement tactics, and to understand the prevalent anti-life reality and its motive forces. Creative, effective tactics can only stem from a clear understanding of our situation. In this sense it's very heartening that in many quarters, people are engaged in a deeper questioning of all the assumptions behind the madness. This exciting quest, looking way beyond a failed leftism, inspires a renewed hopefulness and sense of urgency even as the crisis worsens. There may be a way to understand and solve our problems, to live differently, to heal and preserve this beautiful planet for our children and grandchildren!

The web of armed power may now be not much more than that. Domination resorts to naked force, having no answers, no real prospects for its future. It has always been the case that we need to think incisively and act wisely. Perhaps we also need to be able to see through the system's image of strength to its rotted, bankrupt foundations.

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THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF WORK BY PENELOPE ROSEMONT



Depersonalization and alienation from our deepest desires is implanted during childhood via school, church, movies, and TV, and soon reaches the point where an individual's desire is not only a net of contradictions, but also a commodity like all the others. "True life" always seems to be just a bit beyond what a weekly paycheck and credit card can afford, and is thus indefinitely postponed. And each postponement contributes to the reproduction of a social system that practically everyone who is not a multimillionaire or a masochist has come to loathe.

That is the problem facing us all: How to break the pattern of work — of week-to-week slavery, that habit of habits, that addiction of addictions; how to detach ourselves from the grip of Self-Defeating Illusions For Sale, Inc., a.k.a. the corporate consumer state.

Especially ingrained is that pattern of working for *someone else*: making someone else's "goods," producing the wealth that someone else enjoys, thinking someone else's thoughts (sometimes actually believing them one's own), and even dreaming someone else's dreams — in short, *living someone else's life*, for one's own life, and one's own dream of life, have long since been lost in the shuffle.

The systematic suppression of a person's real desires — and that is largely what work consists of — is exacerbated by capitalism's incessant manipulation of artificial desires, "as advertised." This gives daily life the character of mass neurosis, with increasingly frequent psychotic episodes. To relieve the all-embracing boredom of daily life, society offers an endless array of distractions and stupefactions, most of them "available at a store near you." The trouble is, these distractions and stupefactions, legal or illegal, soon become part of the boredom, for they satisfy no authentic desire.

When the news reports horrible crimes committed by children or teenagers trying to be satanists, or superheroes, or terrorists, or just "bad guys," we can be sure that these kids lived lives of intolerable dullness, that they were so isolated from their own desires and from the larger society that they didn't even know how or where to look for something different, or how to rebel in such a way that it might actually make a difference. Instead, they picked up some trashy notions from bible school, Hollywood and TV which promised a few minutes of meaningless "excitement" followed by lots of publicity — also meaningless. Each time

"Work, now? Never, never. I'm on strike."

—Arthur Rimbaud

something like this happens we hear cries to "monitor" films more closely, and to ban "violence" on TV. Rarely, however, does anyone criticize the bible or the Christian churches, despite the fact that Christianity — by far the bloodiest of the "world's great religions" — is far more to be blamed.



Similarly, one rarely hears criticism of the armed forces — a gang of professional killers whose influence on children cannot be anything other than baleful.

And even less often does one encounter criticism of another intrinsically violent institution: the nuclear family. Indeed, at this late date in human history, this relic of patriarchy is still held up as some sort of ideal. Replacing the extended family, the nuclear family as we know it today is an invention of the nineteenth century. Constructed by white bourgeois Europeans to meet the needs of expanding industrialization, it reflects capitalism's

model of the "chain of command." It continues the sanction of male supremacy as a time-honored tradition dating back to a mandate of God, no less. In the nuclear family, *he* works at a job, and *she* works in the home (and increasingly also at a job). As for the children, they are the

family's *private property*, and remain so for years after they reach biological maturity.

Children too learn to work, or at least how to suffer boredom. From the earliest age they are taught to obey orders. School and church teach them the necessity of going to and staying at a particular place for a prolonged period, even when they would rather be anywhere else. All the classic parental admonitions — "Sit still!" "Do what I tell you!" "Don't talk back!" "Stop behaving like a bunch of wild Indians!" — are part of the education of the well-behaved, uncomplaining wage-slave...

The world today is confronted by greater, more earth-shaking, more life-threatening problems than ever before: wars all over, massive pollution, global warming, the return of slavery, white supremacy, oppression of women, ecological disaster, neocolonialism, state terrorism, the prison industry, genocide, cancer, AIDS, the traffic death-toll, xenophobia, pesticides, genetic engineering — the list goes on and on. Ceaselessly bombarded by news reports and sound-bytes of one catastrophe after another, most people have no idea what to do, and lapse into paralysis. On the ideological front, this widespread passivity, itself a major social problem, is maintained by what André Breton called miserabilism, the cynical rationalization of misery, suffering and corruption: the dominant ideology of Power in our time.

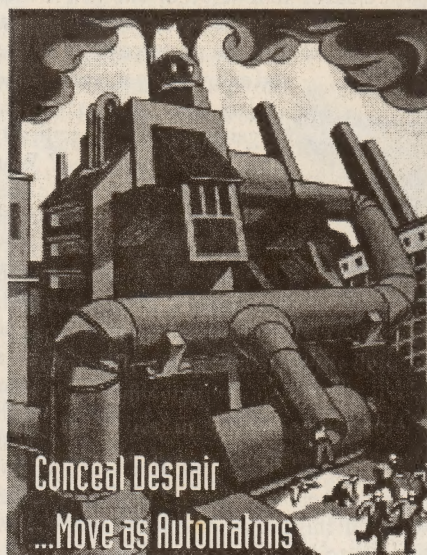
Every hour, moreover, countless billions are spent on propaganda, advertising and other mystifications to sustain the delusion that the crisis-strewn society we live in today is the best and only one possible.

What is most important to grasp is that *work is at the center of all these problems*. It is work that keeps the whole miserabilist system going. Without work, the death-dealing juggernaut that proclaims itself the "free market" would grind to a halt. ("Free market" means freedom for Capital, and unfreedom for those who work.) Until the problem of work is solved — that is, until work is abolished — all other problems will not only remain, but will keep getting worse.... In a world too busy to live, work itself has become toxic, a form of "digging your own grave."

Renewed scarcities and engineered economic crises notwithstanding, society today has the capacity to reduce work to a tiny fraction of what it is now, while continuing to meet all human needs. It is obvious that if people really want paradise on Earth, they can have it — practically overnight. Of course they will have to overcome the immense and multinational "false consciousness" industry, which works very hard to make sure that very few working people know what they really want....

Work kills the spirit, damages the body, insults the mind, keeps everyone confused and demoralized, distracts its victims from all the things that really matter in life.... Our struggle calls for labor organizers of a new kind.... To bring about the meltdown of miserabilism we need awakeners of latent desires, fomentors of marvelous humor, stimulators of ardent dreams, provokers of the deepest possible yearning for a life of poetic adventure.

— From "A Brief Rant Against Work," in *Surrealist Experiences: 1001 Dawns, 221 Midnights* (2000)



Welcome to Green Anarchy

Issue #15/Winter 2004

Winter is here. In Oregon, that means about five more wonderful/depressing months of darkness and rain (after almost three already)! It is a good time to reflect on the past year, and plan for the next. It is an inward time to question ourselves, look at our accomplishments, and examine our failures. It is a time for strategizing and debate.

In this issue, we have an extensive section focusing on the anti-globalization movement and the demonstrations/battles that have occurred outside economic summits. Since Seattle, these events have become the most outwardly visible and public forms of anarchist resistance, but many feel that they have become stale, predictable, ineffective, or otherwise limited. Some anarchists have suggested that we abandon these activities for more underground and illegal action, while others wish for anarchists to become more autonomous, elusive, prepared, and destructive at these events. Many of us wish to embrace a holistic approach in which we are able to successfully strike on multiple fronts, without depending entirely on one tactic or single event. We hope the debates in the pages of *GA* will help further these and other much needed tactical discussions. Issue #15 also features a special "Back to Basics" section (also available as a pamphlet) which focuses on "the Problems with the Left" (including leftist anarchists). This is part two of an ongoing series that we hope will clarify some basic assumptions and ideas in *Green Anarchy* and the broader anti-civilization analysis. Our next issue's "Back to Basics" will focus on "Re-wilding and Primitive Living". We look forward to any contributions along these lines. In this issue, we are honored to present the second part of an amazingly provocative interview with eco-psychologist, political activist, and writer, Chellis Glendinning. The Winter issue also contains: an involved tactical analysis on the targeting of the techno-grid's infrastructure, an update and analysis on the continuing resistance in Iraq, a look at the Palestinian struggle from a radically anti-authoritarian perspective, an assessment of technology in the Neoliberal nightmare, and a number of other articles, special sections, and of course, a ton of reports on resistance from around the world to update and hopefully inspire our readers.

We have a new format! After fourteen issues (and many changes) as a newspaper, we have finally decided to publish in magazine format. This is a trial issue.

We have been debating this change amongst ourselves and our supporters for more than a year, and have not come to any definitive conclusion, so we figured the best way to determine the most effective format is to try it out. If we feel this change is not beneficial for the goals of this collective, or in the interest of our readers, we will go back to the tabloid format. Our content will not change, no sections will be cut, and the size and consistency will remain the same. While the cover price will go up slightly for those who order *GA* by mail (the price increase will be less for subscribers), we hope to be able to continue to give away as many as before locally, to prisoners, and to those who are unable to pay. We made this change in the hope of providing a more durable and long-lasting piece of propaganda, and to attempt to get the magazine into larger circulation through distributors (who would not carry *GA* in newspaper form due to its more flimsy qualities). Let us know what you think of the new format.

We are happy to announce that due to the demand of our last issue, we had to do an additional over-run of 2000 copies, bringing our print-run up to 7500. For this issue, we have decided to print 9000 copies, with the anticipation of an increase for our next issue. This increase in demand for *GA*, and our ability to keep up with it, is exciting to our collective. We feel that getting *Green Anarchy* as far out there as possible can only be beneficial for this project, the proliferation of the anti-civilization critique, and general increase in anarchist awareness.

We need your help! This project can not succeed without your help. We are always looking for contributions of articles, rants, poetry, images, action reports, prisoner updates, and ideas for future issues. We are especially interested in articles from indigenous and eco-feminist perspectives. Some possible topics for upcoming issues include: class struggle and the anti-civilization critique, the phenomenon of war from a green anarchist perspective, a radical look at the prison industrial complex, and a look at the connections between patriarchy and civilization. We are always in need of local distributors (at any level) of *GA*, subscribers, and financial supporters. We thank those who have contributed to this project, in any form, in the past.

For the Destruction of Civilization,
and the Reconnection to Life!

The Green Anarchy Collective

January 1, 2004

Our deadline for contributions for Issue #16/Spring 2004 is February 29th (Leap Day)



FAVOR

BY THE FRIENDS OF AL-HALLADJ

“Let’s remember the way other people have treated us and how they still treat us everywhere, as foreigners, as inferiors. Let’s guard against considering what is foreign and insufficiently known as inferior! Let’s guard against doing ourselves that which was done to us.”

—Martin Buber, 1929

At the time in which we are writing these lines, the whole world is watching with bated breath the events that stain the Middle East with blood. We don’t know if the tension caused by the military occupation of Palestinian territory by Israeli troops will be so high by the time you read these lines, or if the pressure from international chancelleries will have managed to cool the boiling militaristic spirit of the Sharon government.

That which we know, that which urges us to speak, cannot be exhausted in the facile humanitarian attitude of blame and indignation. In the face of all that has happened, is happening and is being prepared in these apparently distant places, we feel only repugnance for those who live in anguish that the sanctity of the basilica of Bethlehem could be profaned, worried that the divine manger could be soiled by Arab blood; and for those who accuse all who protest against the operations of the Israeli state of anti-semitism, as if this state were synonymous with the Jewish people; and for all those who

lay claim to our shock for the lack of light and life of an aspiring Palestinian head of state enclosed within his bunker; and for those who try to place the indiscriminate violence of desperation and the indiscriminate violence of institutions on the same level, with the aim of justifying the latter as a form of defense against the former; and for those who simply want this all to end so that they can continue to fill their cars with fuel without having to spend too much.

Let’s admit it. Upon hearing the news that comes from the Palestinian territories, the word that continually comes out of our mouth is not the same one that first comes to our mind. At most, our tongues say extermination — ruthless and sometimes methodical destruction and suppression of a large number of people — while our brain thinks genocide — the methodical destruction and suppression of an ethnic, racial or religious group, carried out through the extermination of individuals and the annihilation of cultural values. Genocide is much more than extermination. But this is a term that we somehow refuse to use, because its use in such a context would undermine the foundations of many of the certainties on which we have built our world, its tranquility and its prosperity.

How can we call that which the Sharon government has undertaken genocide after being told over and over again so many times that genocide is an atrocity of the past, fruit of the worst obscurantism, that could not find legitimacy in a Western democracy

(as, in conclusion, Israel is)? And then, having been victims of the genocide carried out by the Nazis, having suffered infamous persecution, how could Jews today, who recognize themselves in Israel, wear the butcher’s apron and do to others what they were forced to suffer in the past? All this comes into conflict with our security, with our need for order, with our cogent bookkeeper’s logic that determines our quiet bookkeeper’s existence. The tranquility of our sleep and of our affairs requires it, state propaganda confirms it: there is no genocide underway in Palestinian territories, there is only a hunt without quarter in the face of cruel terrorists that, due to circumstances that are as tragic as they are fatal, is having harsh repercussions for the civilian population as well. But if this is how things are, what can be said about the numbers tattooed on Palestinian prisoners, a chilling reiteration of one of the most nauseating Nazi practices? What can be said of the destruction of houses and entire villages, again something that was practiced against the Jews (specifically, by English soldiers)? What can be said about all the dead — women, children, old people — that could surely not be included in the media stereotype of the fanatical terrorist extolling Holy War? As is clear, there are not

many alternatives in the face of the massacre that is going on: either the silence of consent, which is at the same time the result and the guarantee of social peace, or the questioning that springs from dissent. But, if it is carried to its conclusion, to its extreme consequences, what will this questioning leave us? Will we be able to listen to the answers?



**ROCKS
VERSUS
RIFLES**



Actually, if the Nazi genocide against the Jews was the first to be judicially condemned, nevertheless it was not the first to be perpetrated. The history of western colonial expansion into this century — that led to the creation of great empires on the part of the largest and most powerful European states — is first of all a succession of systematic massacres of indigenous populations (the greatest of these being the genocide of the Native American populations that occurred after 1492).

In a few words, genocide is a weapon that the state has always used. And it would be a gross error to think that recourse to mass extermination on the part of the state could only have happened in the past, when the ambition to conquer new economic markets goaded the crowned heads of Europe to launch their subjects on adventurous enterprises beyond their borders. In reality, although the practice of genocide was more readily visible during colonial expansion, it also occurred — and still occurs — within the borders that a state gave itself in its formulation as well as its consolidation.

The history of the United States is exemplary in this sense. Even the glorious and democratic United States was born through genocide, that carried out against the Native Americans by an army sent out to protect colonists of European ancestry in the name of a “freedom” obtained by destroying villages and slaughtering entire populations of Indians (naturally arousing their resistance that sometimes assumed ferocious hues even against the civilian population). We all know how it ended: the United States government took possession of all the territory once possessed

by Indians, while it allowed the few that survived to live on cramped and unhealthy reservations, bewildered by various kinds of western consumption and reduced to folkloristic phenomena and tourist attractions.

The European states themselves were the first to know the relative homogeneity of today, but they also had to come to terms with the resistance of numerous ethnic minorities. If the Basque or the Irish question still has some currency, it is only because these peoples’ struggles have managed to extend themselves to our times.

But what is it that makes the state intrinsically genocidal? It is its pretence of forcing that which is in fact separate into a fictitious unity. The suppression of difference is part of the normal functioning of the state machine,

which systematically proceeds to standardize social relationships. The state does not recognize individuals with differences between them who are thus unique, but only citizens who are equal before its authority and therefore identical. A state can only claim to be formed and proclaim itself the absolute and exclusive holder of power only where and when the population over which it exercises its dominion speaks its language, respects its laws, follows its customs, uses its money, practices its religious faith. When this reduction, this homogenization cannot be carried out through formally peaceful methods, the state uses violence. Through genocide, the state merely brings the elimination of the Other to term, an indispensable moment for imposing its authority and thus realizing the unity it needs.

If the state was genocidal already in antiquity, things certainly didn’t change with the advent of capitalism, which tends to always extend its borders in the ongoing search for profit. The globalization that is so frequently denounced, in other words, the transnational capitalism that is transforming the entire planet into a single,



giant supermarket, is a perfect example of this.

Nowadays, instead of physically exterminating an indigenous population, it is preferable to culturally convert it after having economically and politically vanquished it. Capitalist society is not only the most formidable mechanism of production ever developed by humankind: It is also the most terrifying machine of destruction and standardization. Culture, society, individual, space, nature... everything

is exploited; everything must be exploited. Here it is made clear why the state gives no rest to social organizations that leave the world to its tranquil, native unproductiveness. The fact that tremendous resources lie unexploited is intolerable for western culture,

which in the course of history has imposed the customary dilemma: either start walking on the path of productivity or disappear. Capitalist civilization deconstructs and destroys all non-capitalist social forms, everywhere imposing the model of the atomized citizen — basic to democracy — incapable of possessing a social existence outside of the abstract and homogenizing mediation of money, work and the state. If Israeli soldiers today behave in more or less the same way toward Palestinians as German soldiers behaved toward Jews sixty years ago, it is not because Jews and Nazis are the same as boorish anti-semitic propaganda would have it, but because in every era, soldiers are alike. It is

the task of the army to destroy everything that might cause the ruin of the state. Hitler held that Jews represented a threat to Germany and therefore tried to exterminate them. Now the problem is not the Jewish people, but rather the state of Israel. Hypothetically, if things were to be reversed tomorrow, the problem would not be the Palestinian people, but its state (that would probably try to exterminate the Jews if it were given the opportunity). In other words, a solution to the Jewish-Palestinian conflict will never be able to be found if it remains within institutional logic, political mediation and treaties between states.

After the attacks of September 11, 2001 — since now in the imagination of the western world, the “Arab kamikaze” inspires the same terror as the “scalping redskin” provoked at the end of the 19th century — the government of Israel has decided to take advantage of the situation that has been created in order to take another step toward the final solution to the Palestinian problem. If the United States bombs Afghanistan and Iraq in the name of the struggle against Arab terrorism, why shouldn’t Israel raze Palestinian territories to the ground in the name of the struggle against Arab terrorism?

One can understand how the western states could not help but lean toward favoring the Israeli state. How could they forbid it from doing what they themselves have done (against the Native Americans, the inhabitants of the Indies, the black Africans, the Algerians, not to mention the beautiful Ethiopians with their black faces)?

(continued on next page)





How could the western states condemn the Jewish state after all that their predecessors have done to the Jews?

Not one impediment, not one condemnation. Only the requests for moderation and mild criticism. At worst, the application of a few sanctions. "If you exterminate the population, the importation of your grapefruits may possibly be temporarily suspended." But since the endeavor of genocide against the Palestinian people is on course and no one can ignore it, there is only one path left for the western governments to follow. To save Palestine by transforming it into a state, to offer the Palestinians the same compensation offered to the Jews after the second world war. When a government exterminates an insubordinate population down to its last member, this is a matter that can be justified and is amply justified by the reason of the state. History, as we have seen, abounds with analogous examples. But in the contemporary world, cannibalism between states is not permitted (which explains the haste shown by Sharon to definitively "clear out" the occupied territories... of Palestinians). If they want to survive, the western democrats insist, the Palestinians must become like us. It is necessary to help them in such a way that they will have a proper parliament, police, magistrature, factories, shopping centers, McDonalds, soccer championships, television with so many fine soap operas and — why not? — perhaps their own music festival.

"Two people, two states" is the aberrant slogan that is going around these days as the panacea for the current conflict. In this way, the Palestinians find themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea; either they disappear from the face of the earth or they die under the Israeli army's stick, or they convert to capitalist civilization eating the carrot of American and European diplomacy. In either case, the outcome is the same: the Palestinians cannot choose for themselves how to live.

This is where Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization enters the scene, he who has been working as a shrewd politician for decades on the formation of a Palestinian state. Despite the hatred that the Israeli rulers (as well as some Arabs) nurture toward him and the ostracism by American rulers, Arafat continues to have a central role in the path toward normalization. It is no accident that all the governments of the world have urged Sharon not to touch him. They have reason. Just as an enlightened boss will always prefer to negotiate with union leaders rather than meet with angry strikers, in the same way, the more intelligent western rulers prefer to deal with an enlightened bourgeois like Arafat than with a band of excited rebels against modern reason. Despite everything, he remains the leader of the only organization capable of enclosing the Palestinian revolt within a framework. The PLO draws its strength from its ambiguous nature. With its weapons, the financial power of the Palestinian diaspora, its international support and its offices in the United Nations, the PLO is an embryo and a caricature of a state, with all that this entails in terms of sordid appetites, struggles between functionaries, and direct oppression and fierce repression of dissidents in the zones that it administers. But since it has not yet formed a nation state, it is also the political organization within which human relationships conserve the signs of an ancient solidarity.

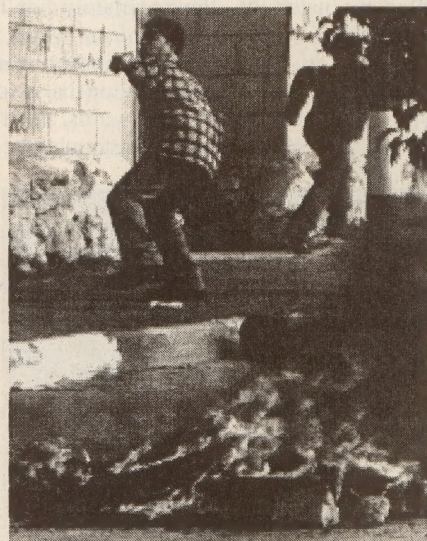
One of its leaders, who will be nothing but a power-hungry politician in the future Palestinian state, still manages to maintain a direct relationship with combatants who acknowledge him today. What is true of the PLO is even truer for the organizations to which the population has dedicated itself on the spot. The cadres of the popular committees are generally made up of militants from the various parties or sympathizers of the PLO, but the totality of the tasks (surveillance of the movements of the army, provisioning, medical first aid) is carried out by all, young and old, men and women, and the mysticism of death in battle serves as the cement.

Despite being viewed with distrust by the Palestinian rebels themselves, and increasingly so after the arrest of numerous extremists as a sign of good will launched toward western public opinion, the PLO nonetheless remains the central identifying point of reference for the Palestinian people.

For us, as enemies of every state and fatherland, it is easy to fall into the temptation of setting the uprising of the Palestinian masses in radical opposition to the negotiations and even the armed actions carried out by the various groups linked to the PLO, in other words, to distinguish the Palestinian people from the rackets that claim to represent them. In reality, it is undeniable that the nationalist demand lives in the hearts of the Palestinian rebels, just as it is undeniable that the more spirited military actions have contributed to creating the mystique of the martyr in the entire population and particularly among the youth, which has helped to excite the minds and generalize the courage that could be seen at work in the first intifada (that of the stones), and that now feeds the second. This does not remove the reality that the existence of such a mystique is, at the same time, one of the clearest signs of the limits of this revolt in nationalist form for the social spirit.

One can understand how long decades of oppression and the lack of any prospects for living could be transformed into the love of death in battle. But understanding does not mean sharing this feeling. The act of blowing oneself up in the middle of a supermarket doesn't only lead to the suicide of a single combatant, it leads to the suicide of the entire struggle of the Palestinians for freedom. Beyond being ethically repugnant, it is tactically harmful. We are

not among those who say that its error is that it provokes repression by the Israeli army, which certainly has no need for such pretexts in order to carry out its violence, or that it causes the peace treaties to fail, since there can be no peace where oppression reigns. Rather its error is above all in annulling and adulterating the reasons for the Palestinian struggle behind the rage of desperation. Despite the flags and sacred texts in which they get

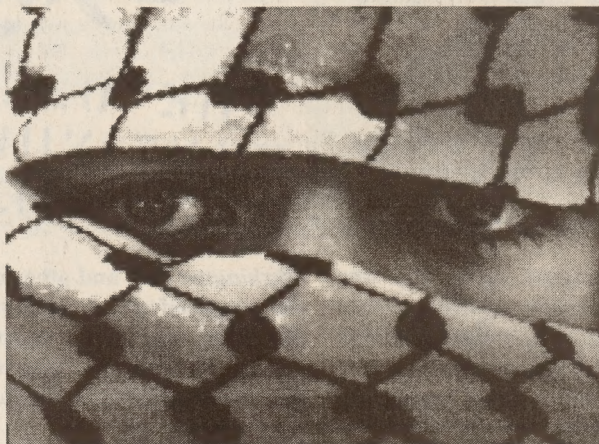


wrapped, these reasons are universal. The desperation is blind, capable of great strength, but deprived of an outlet. Palestinian terrorism — unlike that of Israel, which is an expression of power — is synonymous with impotence, in the immediate sense because it is not capable of destroying the Israeli state, and in the long run because it will end up alienating the solidarity of rebels throughout the world, including those in Israel. When they wreak havoc among bus passengers or market-goers, they are not, in fact, attacking the Israeli state, but rather the population. Giving substance to an indiscriminate violence only

corroborates the accusation of anti-semitism that is attributed to them, enclosing them more and more in a nationalist dead-end. Clouded by an understandable hatred, hundreds of Palestinians are ready to die without asking themselves how or why or against whom or for what. The blindness of the method renders them blind with regard to the purpose of the struggle as well. This is why one becomes either a soldier of the PLO or a devotee of the Party of God (Hezbollah) or the tool of a sheikh and his zeal (Hamas). This is not, in fact, due to any supposed "nature" of the Arabs, a conception that tries to hide its racism — Arabs, you know, are reactionary! — behind the recognition of cultural differences. For centuries, Palestine has been a crossroads for people, a site of thousands of cultures that were able to live together without tearing each other to bits by turns. If it has become the land of the most extreme fanaticism, it is because this situation responds to specific interests. And while a sixteen-year-old girl blows herself into the sky, the political and religious leaders who indoctrinated her expect to collect these interests, fruit of sacrifice as well. Palestinian terrorism thus ends up being useful only to the state: the Israeli state because it allows this state to demonize the Palestinians, and the future Palestinian state because it invokes the recognition of this state as the only way to avert the terror.

Naturally, there is a line of rupture between the potential for revolt against the totality of a world that has produced unbearable conditions of existence for the Palestinians and the attempt to snatch a niche within this world (the Palestinian state) from this revolt. But this line is subtle and continually changes. It uncoils inside the base organizations, the social groups, the moments of struggle and through the individuals themselves, their thoughts, their feelings and their activities. But for now, there is no use in hiding it, it doesn't have much possibility of taking place considering the lack of non-nationalist social movements with which to associate. Above all, the absence of any possibility for common struggle with Israeli exploited must be considered. It would be a mistake to think of Israel as a homogenous and monolithic society. In reality, its structure is forcefully differentiated. For example, behind the beautiful rhetoric about the unity of the Jewish people hides the division between the Sephardic and the Ashkenazi Jews (not to mention the Israeli Arabs, the lowest rank on the social pyramid). The former are those who originate in Mediterranean lands and form the poorest sector of the population; the latter are those with origins in western Europe and the United States and form the political and economic

elite. To which of these two classes do the Jewish colonists who currently live within the occupied territories and are most exposed to Palestinian reprisals belong? They are Sephardic Jews, of course. Just as in past centuries colonialism also served the European states splendidly as a method for averting social tensions that existed within them, creating an external safety valve, so today the



state of Israel finds its national unity in the struggle against the Palestinians.

As long as the exploited Jews and Palestinians will not acknowledge their shared condition, that is to say, will not acknowledge it together, both of their struggles will be crippled, deprived of the possibility of intervening in the ongoing conflict in a revolutionary direction.

As for ourselves, in affirming our solidarity with the oppressed Palestinians, we have no intention of romanticizing their condition. Instead, we intend to show what is universal in their resistance and to oppose the pacifism that wants a smooth transition toward the eternal silence of the market with the social war against all those who support the genocide of the Palestinians or their institutional civil domestication (all other states including the PLO).

As is evident, it is not a question of supporting a Palestinian state. We do not want to find ourselves one day united with old victims who have become butchers, with a national capitalism that oppresses the proletariat on its own account, with rulers who were indulgent in the face of the intifada and later transformed themselves into bureaucrats, exploiters and torturers. We don't want to support a Palestinian state that follows the example of the Israeli state by drawing the justification of its future atrocities from the substantial memories of the misfortunes of the past. Thus, it is not about forcing the Israeli state to respect the rights of Palestinians, nor supporting the formation of a new Palestinian state. Rather it is a question of starting to practice desertion, refusal, sabotage, attack, destruction against every constituted authority, all power, every state.

May the Church of Bethlehem get razed to the ground if this will serve to free the Palestinians. May Arafat die of hunger and

thirst, if this will signal the end of the Palestinian Authority. May the desperation break loose with rage, if it will know how to direct itself against the Israeli army. May our automobiles remain stalled in the middle of the streets, if this will overturn our resigned complicity with the genocide that is going on. May the Jewish-Palestinian dispute that enflames the Middle East change into the social dispute capable of blazing throughout the planet, if this is the only possibility for putting an end to the slavery that is imposed everywhere by money and power.

- THE FRIENDS OF AL-HALLADJ

Editors' Note: The word "fawda" can be loosely translated as "sedition" and was referred to by Mohammed the Prophet as "even graver than assassination." This is the first half of a much longer essay called *fawda* that analyzes the struggle in Palestine from an insurrectional anarchist perspective. The complete essay is available in pamphlet form for \$3.00 from Venomous Butterfly Publications, 818 SW 3rd Ave PMB 1237, Portland, OR 97204, or from the Green Anarchy Distro.

We would also like to recommend *The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism*, a concise and critical look at national liberation struggles from an anarchist perspective, and *Anti-Semitism and the Beirut Pogrom*, a look at the inherent racism within Zionism, and the condition of an oppressed people becoming an oppressor. Both essays are also available from the Green Anarchy Distro. For horrific photographic documentation of Israeli military brutality, See: www.alkhilafah.info





Within the Realm of a Dying Sun

THE U.S. MILITARY
CONTINUES TO GET
HAMMERED IN IRAQ!

Here's our brief, somewhat obligatory, update on the U.S. war against the Iraqi people. Or should we be saying: *the Iraqi peoples' fight against the bloodthirsty, Amerikan imperialist powers?* Because it is the Mass Media — the symbol system of newspapers, radio, television, magazines, etc., to which most people are subjected — that manipulates word and image to create alterations in the reader's/viewer's consciousness and implant an unquestioned trust and obedience in the "reality" of what they are seeing/hearing. Thus, CNN or Fox News can string together lines of visual and linguistic associations (mixed together with a mass of contradictory data) to control the thoughts and emotions of those who still regard them as objective, neutral "news sources." By emphasizing the "courageous," "determined," and "freedom-loving" coalition forces of "liberation" and *downplaying* the vehement resentment most Iraqis feel toward their occupiers (and towards fellow Iraqi collaborators), the government — through the mass media — paints the world in its own image and dictates the precise parameters of people's perceptual and conceptual assumptions regarding the naked gangsterism of the New World Order and its motley collection of Arab bootlickers.

The chief difficulty in seeing the grisly plunder and bloody feeding frenzy of the "war on terrorism" for what it really is (an undisguised rampage, in our opinion!) lies in the fact that most of the information we have access to comes from the mass media, the penultimate modern control system. As William S. Burroughs put it: "The control of the mass media depends on laying down lines of association. When the lines are cut the associational connections are broken." People see and hear what they expect to see and hear because *The Word Lines Keep Thee in Slots...*

Burroughs advocated launching a counteroffensive against the "reality studio" of the control machine and developed a deprogramming/descrambling technique he called "the cut-up method," which involved cutting up newspaper articles and re-arranging the sections so that hidden (and in some cases, *portentous*) messages are revealed. Applying these techniques to the nationalistic rubbish of the *New York Times*,

Washington Post and other devoted upholders of the spectacle, certain encoded "information fractals" begin to appear between the lines. One of the most persistently recurring of these "subtracks" is that the "all-powerful" U.S. war machine is drowning in a sea of guerrilla resistance.

Iraqi Insurgents Gain a Deadly Edge on the Information Front

Desperate for a cheap and easy victory in Iraq (and eager to butcher the uncooperative, recalcitrant Baathist power structure there), the U.S. military rained upon their former "lapdog" state with sophisticated instruments of death, their stealth bombers darkening the sky like a swarm of locusts. Spouting a mouthful of contemporary military tropes such as "new technology is the decisive edge in battle" and "information is the most important force multiplier," Bush and Rumsfeld expected no serious opposition in their drive to realign and tighten up their sphere of influence in the Middle East. But the "superiority" of the U.S.

forces is proving to be a deadly mirage in relation to an increasingly organized guerrilla struggle that uses stealth, spies and surprise to inflict punishing casualties.

U.S. military intelligence and law enforcement officials say that after six months of intensifying guerrilla warfare, Iraqi insurgents know more about the U.S. and allied forces — their style of operations, convoy routes and vulnerable targets — than the "coalition" forces know about them. Indeed, U.S. intelligence has had trouble simply identifying the enemy and figuring out how many are Iraqis and how many are foreign fighters. With local knowledge and the element of surprise on their side, the guerrillas are exploiting their intelligence edge to



Rebels burn police truck during
uprising against U. S. occupation.
Fallujah, Iraq, October 31st.

overcome the "Coalition's" overwhelming military might. Insurgents routinely use inexpensive explosives to destroy multimillion-dollar assets, including tanks and helicopters.

Using surveillance and inside information, the guerrillas have assassinated many Iraqis helping the Coalition, gunned down a member of the U.S.-appointed Governing Council, killed the top

United Nations official in Iraq and twice blasted the heavily guarded hotel in Baghdad where Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz was staying. High-tech U.S. intelligence tools such as spy satellites and electronic eavesdropping intercepts have been of little practical use to the U.S. forces, who are being chopped up piece by piece. The key problem is that Iraqi guerrillas simply have *more* and *better* sources than the "Coalition." U.S. military officers worry that the Iraqis who work for them, such as translators, cooks and drivers, include moles who routinely pass inside information back to insurgents.

In the Shadow of Imminent Annihilation

Guerrilla forces are still mounting repeated attacks on U.S. convoys despite frequent changes of route and routine. One frustrated U.S. commander points out that there are only so many ways to drive between downtown Baghdad and the International Airport, a trip U.S. forces must make frequently and during which they usually get ambushed! Insurgents have also mounted devastating attacks after conducting patient surveillance of major targets such as the U.N headquarters in Baghdad, the elaborately secured Al Rasheed Hotel and military supply trains.

And they have identified and in several cases killed Iraqis helping the "Coalition." An Iraqi scientist who had provided confidential assistance to U.S. teams hunting for banned weapons last summer was gunned down outside his apartment in Baghdad. In early November, an Iraqi security guard working with the Army on the secure transport of surplus Iraqi munitions answered a knock on his door and was asked whether he was still helping the Americans. He answered "yes" and was fatally shot three times in the chest. U.S. intelligence cable traffic between Baghdad and Washington is rife with warnings about Iraqi employees of the "coalition" secretly supplying information to guerrillas, according to a U.S. intelligence official and a high-ranking defense official.

The guerrillas are as skillful at keeping their secrets out of U.S. hands as they are at collecting sensitive information about "Coalition" operations. By using rudimentary security precautions such as avoiding the careless use of cell-phones, the guerrillas have managed to keep their attack plans secret. U.S. officials have acknowledged that Iraqi guerrillas are sophisticated in covert tradecraft. They "compartmentalize" information, so no one operative knows enough to compromise an operation if caught. They use "cut-outs," intermediaries who protect the identities of operatives and pass messages. And they often plant false information in "Coalition" hands.

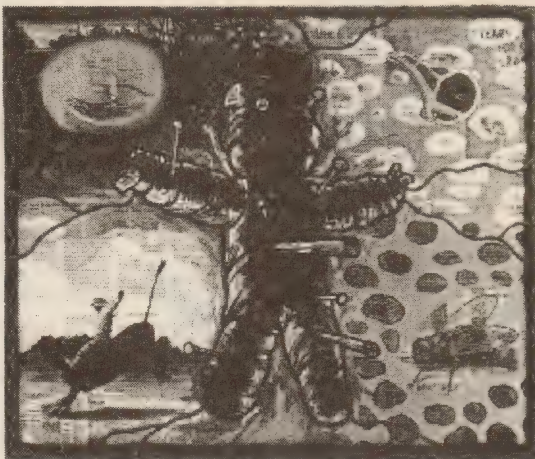
Just such a false lead may have led to the ambush death of a National Guard military policeman Richard Orengo, in Najaf last June. Called to investigate a car theft, Orengo instead walked into a firefight and was killed.

Bodies Like Toys, Bargain for Favors and the Gift of Sacrifice

A classified CIA report recently warned that a growing number of Iraqis, convinced that the U.S.-led "Coalition" can be defeated, may be inclined to support the Iraqi insurgents. A U.S. official familiar with the report said the pessimistic assessment prompted urgent White House meetings and the abrupt recall of acting U.S. administrator in Iraq, Paul Bremer, to Washington. In contrast to the "Bush-shit" coming out of the Oval Office (who still claim they are fighting terrorism and thwarting new Hitlers, to whatever fools they can convince), the new CIA report warns that Shiite Muslims in southern Iraq could soon join hard-line Sunni Muslim opposition groups, swelling the ranks of the guerrilla resistance.

"What we see is increasing evidence that we are facing an enemy that has a strategy," says Andrew Bacevich, a former Army colonel and professor of "international relations." "This is careful planning of the thoughtful, logical use of violence in order to achieve the enemy's objective. It does not mean that we lost or mean that we are losing; it means the problem with each passing day deepens and that if you are supporting the Americans, you are in the gun sights."

In short, Bush's drive to forge and protect a "New World Order" is having a similar result to throwing kerosene on a fire. "It's an easy task to create enemies, The Americans are creating enemies in the thousands and free of charge," says Sheik Khalid Amin, a former member of the Iraqi National Assembly. The Iraqi insurgents have transformed the situation from the one-sided slaughter the U.S. hoped for into a different kind of "killing zone" where the "Coalition" is now bogged down in a massive trap and surrounded on all sides. Suicide bombings are on the rise and as 2003 closes, almost 500 U.S. soldiers have died in Iraq (and that does not include those Iraqi targets who collaborate with the occupying forces), with the death count increasing all the time.



One War Can Hide Another

As anarchists, we need to start discussing where we fit into this conflict and what we can be doing to fight the war machine in our own bioregions. As stated earlier in this article, truly useful information on Iraq and other ongoing conflicts in the world is hard to come by, so we could start by strengthening and expanding our own information networks. We should also recognize that we're dealing with a sick and dying system that has a hard-wired social agenda: to grab more territory and power and consolidate what they already possess in the midst of a turbulent and rapidly changing world. As long as this system (or any other manifestation of civilization) exists, blood will flow, torrents of blood. The only way to eliminate the infection of this system is through radical surgery, i.e., decapitation, and that's why anarchists might consider directing their efforts towards infrastructural sabotage. Remember, the Empire is shaky, its economies and financial markets are dangling on the edge of a precipice, and by cutting off the supply lines that fuel this omniscient megamachine (the electrical grid, oil pipelines, the computer system) we still have a hope of stopping its engines before it devours us all. It's time to move from protest to **RESISTANCE!!**

"ILLUMINATED BY VIOLENCE, THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE
REBELS AGAINST ANY PACIFICATION." -FRANTZ FANON

THE WAY OF HISTORY — TODAY by Lytton Manning

I hear youngsters refer to the neighborhood, the "hood" as their... way, "around the way." And I smile and reflect on how things keep coming around, in cycles or circles. A little bit different — a lot the same.

When I was a kid, that's what it was, "around my way," "over your way."

"Where you been all day?" — "over Dougies way."

"Don'cha ever come home'n eat? Let us know where you're at?" — It's ok, his grandmother made chick soup with rice — leaves'n it. From real chicken." "Go wash-up..."

History repeats itself

like Yogi Berra said —

"deja vu, all over again."

I've got a close friend who comes from the same way as I, or rather, she comes from around my way. She spent a good part of her life as a jury consultant. Picking juries for the defense in capital cases, and now she's working with young kids who are in, or headed for, trouble. She's trying to make it so they don't ever have to think about picking a jury.

For the kids — she asked me to write a few words about 'Nam, in this impending time of war. That was some weeks ago, and it kind of shut me down. How do I compare Vietnam to Desert Storm? But now the war is no longer impending, and for those kids tricked into going over there ("Over there, Over there...") it must now seem never-ending. Long nights and longer days.

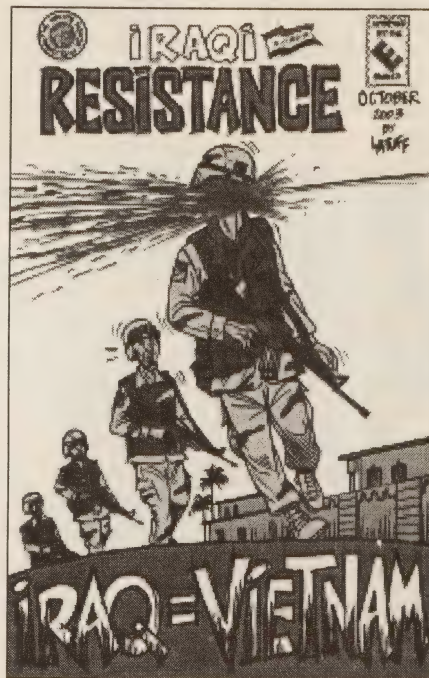
In 'Nam we did one year, more or less depending on your misfortune, or luck. I did 18 months. "Someone will say it lasts but a year, three times four months; I say those are days and nights that are endless. Every day — twelve hours, every night — seven hundred minutes. Every minute — sixty seconds, each second with its load of pain and suffering." (Written in Polish by an unknown Jewish girl found at Auschwitz.)

There are great pictures coming out of this war. The *New York Times* has a "special" war section now — bigger than their Sunday and Monday sports sections. And this special war section has a color, center, photo spread. With many pictures that the recruiters are gonna love. And now the *Christian Science Monitor* has gotten into the big, color, center photo spread act (3/27/03). But their pictures, to me, are more reminiscent of 'Nam. Look at the face of this kid in the convoy picture, "Road to Baghdad" (this ain't Bing Crosby & Co.). He looks like the typical "New Meat." FNG, fucking new guy, clean uniform, fresh shave & haircut, trying to look stoic, but the emotions coming through are anything but stoic, or static. It is a realization coming

through that says, "this ain't anything like what they told me back in North Carolina." This ain't anything like what NBC/GE told you, kid.

Ben Affleck could play this kid, but wait, this ain't no fiction. That shit coming out of the small whitehouse ain't fiction. It's lies. There is a difference. Back to the pictures.

People (civilians) taking cover in caves (not tunnels?). People on the road in their traditional



clothing with bundles of belongings on their backs and smoke billowing from their homes in the background. Yeh. This is looking familiar now, eh? Villagers, herded into the center of their hamlet or homestead by U.S. infantrymen. Some hunched in fear, some on their knees, one looking and pointing in defiance. Oh, oh! Doesn't he know about My Lai? But then, why should he? They were just living their lives when history came to visit. That thing that keeps coming 'round, repeating itself.

The government and media talking head(s) keep(s) crying about deception, the ruse, the low-down dirty trick of hiding behind a white flag, then opening up on the enemy instead of surrendering. But, how else do you do an ambush when you have no bush? When you live in a desert country that has been ambushed by the lies and armies of daddy bush and baby bush. Yeh, these people have got bushes now, but not the right kind. No olive branches come with these bushes. If there were any olive branches here, Ariel Sharon will be right along with a bulldozer. The United States lived and killed by the ambush in Vietnam.

(Along with "search & destroy" patrols and "carpet bombing.")

Every night — ambush. "L" shaped configurations, or formations of men hunkered down in the bush, in their ponchos, in the dark, in the rain, in their thoughts, 'til someone walked into their kill zone. Be they carrying an AK or a hoe, they are going down, taken out, wasted, what the fuck!? They walked into the kill zone, didn't they?

So don't tell me about white flags in the desert. They are just white lies in the scheme of things, inside the BIG LIE that comes from the whitehouse, for big oil, big capital gone international, for imperialism.

So bless the people of Iraq, Afghanistan, or in a couple of years or less, Iran and Syria, and those unfortunate enough to live on top of all that oil and gas in the Caspian Sea region, and the people of the Balkans, and Nigeria, and South and Central America. Hands off Venezuela! U.S. out of Colombia! To all the people of those lands that the U.S.A. wants in its covetous hands.

Get up! Stand up! Grab your white flag and AK, go to the bush. To the mountains. Breathe in the fire on the volcanoes of Morazon Province in El Salvador. Burn away the fear and the lies — **"BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY."** Wipe the smoke from your eyes, smash the mirrors of big media. Bring the passion of real Liberation to the streets. Free Palestine! Up the Rebels! ¡Vinceremos! Amandla! Take back your Freedom. Take it on home, for human dignity and self determination.

—Love Tom—

[#10373-016, Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048]

Postscript:

Many a time I've lain in a dark cell, anticipating, knowing that the new day, or, the next shift of guards, was gonna bring trouble...

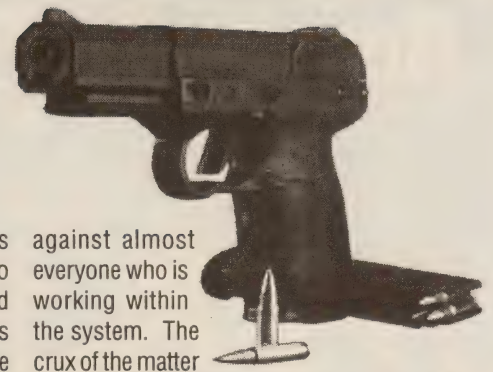
The children of Iraq, who hope and pray for a new day, are being terrorized by the night, when the bombs come, when their teeth, and their bones, and their nerves, and their dreams are shattered, jarred, startled, smashed, shocked... Who ever thought of that phrase — SHOCK AND AWE? It's not just the ones in the muddy boots who should be dragged before the world court. It should be the ones in the air-conditioned sparkling clean offices first, the ones with the dirty minds.

Thinking about those long nights in the bush — in the rain, and more recently, long nights in prison cells. Often times that sun was a rescuer, and as often — not..

"Dawn came on us like a betrayer; It seemed as though the new sun rose as an ally of our enemies to assist in our destruction."

—Primo Levi, "Survival at Auschwitz"

Impassioned Violence, Justified Violence

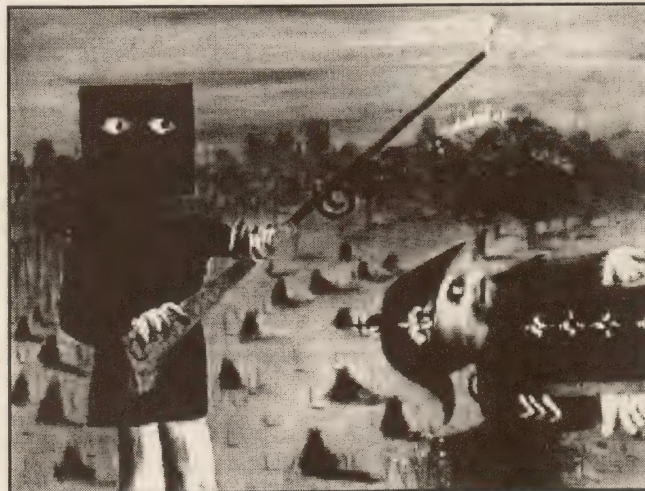


I was having a conversation with a friend of mine about the topic of revolutionary violence; he was advocating for the right to harm or kill in self-defense, extended to every government or corporate functionary involved in a murderous act, and I was trying to articulate why I was uncomfortable with this idea. My friend had the upper hand—after all, if it is acceptable to use violence in response to the soldier or corporate mercenary breaking into your home to evict, imprison, or kill you, why not use violence against the general or CEO who dispatched them?

I believe self-defense is an innate right for all living things, and I also believe that the conceptualization or embrace of total pacifism is only possible in a colonized, statist society, long taught to accept the idea of passive citizenship and the legitimacy of authoritarian violence. On the other hand, I feel that violence is wrong, that harming someone, even the worst corporate shithead, is at some level a cause for sorrow, even if they are getting their just desserts. For anarchists, violence is, or should be, problematic on a tactical level as well. All violence has an authoritarian element to it. It is nearly invisible in the actions of the underdog, until the point of victory when the roles are reversed, and the underdog becomes predominant. If violence is used to achieve the victory, will it be necessary to preserve the victory?

Part of the reason I could not articulate my unease and refute what my friend was saying is that I almost agreed with him. After all, just the day before I had laughed out loud when I read about the two Woomera detention guards who had been beaten up by masked anarchists jail-breaking some of the imprisoned asylum-seekers. On one level it is sad to think about: some poor, dumb robot “just doing his job,” jaw busted, kneecap smashed, nose bloodied, wondering what the hell just happened—hadn’t he been protecting his country, doing what he was taught was right? But on another, more obvious level, it is incredibly satisfying to think that not only are some people who were locked up now running free, but also that a couple of pigs got a taste of the violence that they wield every day.

The case of the detention guards seems pretty clear. They were using violence to imprison people, so some anarchists used violence—not gratuitously, only what was necessary—to free some of those people. We can call this a justified act of violence, and already we are not dealing with direct self-defense, but with violence used for the self-defense of another. So where do we draw the line? Is it also justified to use violence to impede or stop the policy makers, elected and appointed, who sent the asylum-seekers to imprisonment? And what about the boards of the corporations that constructed the detention facility, or manufactured the guns and other tools used by the guards? It certainly seems justified—you can’t let the grunts on the frontline take all the heat. If the politicians and CEOs are bringing the war to our homes, and the homes of people in the global South, isn’t it justified to bring the war to their homes? The problem is, this *would* be justified. In a global system of such ubiquitous injustice and violence, you can keep moving the line back and moving the line back until you arrive at the totally justified doorstep of a quasi-Leninist, programmatic extermination of all “counter-revolutionaries.”



When I realized this, and accepted it, I finally had an answer for my friend. The question is not where we draw the line to define “justified” violence, but that we are drawing a line at all. This whole global system is attacking us, killing people, destroying the planet, and the idea of self-defense, when dealt with at a *rational* level, could be used to justify violence

against almost everyone who is working within the system. The crux of the matter is that violence is at its cruelest when it is a rational act—statism, Western science, capital punishment, and regimes have adequately demonstrated this principle. When we trace a person’s connections to various corporate or governmental mechanisms of murder and ecocide, trying to decide whether they are a justified target for acts of self-defense, we strip them of their humanity, of their essence as living things, and turn them into functionaries of power. The greatest violence is done in our minds, on a metaphysical level, when we trivialize the pain we may cause by justifying, and dismissing it, beforehand.

If somebody attacks me, ready to kill me or cage me, I do not need to trace their connections to a larger system of violence, and I do not need to come to a rational decision as to whether defending myself with force would be justified. If the shit hits the fan, all the cards are laid out on the table and the democratic pretenses of our civil government are cast aside in a revolutionary moment, so everyone knows where they stand, I do not need to construct a justification to prove to myself that the elite and their hired thugs will use violence against me if I let them. Self-defense is a gut hunch—it is an instinct—and to use rationality to decide when violence is or is not justified is to sedate your instincts and to place life, death, and pain in a sphere where they cannot be fully valued.

Corporations and governments are killing people every day. Across much of the globe there is a climate of open warfare. We must fight back. I recognize the possible need to use violence, to hurt somebody, to free myself and others. But it should be an act of passion. I should not preclude the possibility of feeling guilt or *Mitleid* with an act of preemptive rational wizardry. If, in the worst case scenario, you must kill someone, you should at least give them the respect of allowing yourself to cry for what you have done. And if you can’t feel any compassion, what exactly are you fighting for?

— a friend of Green Anarchy

Recovering From Western Civilization

An Interview with Chellis Glendinning - Part II

Chellis Glendinning (her friends call her **Che**) is a psychologist, political activist, and writer. Her books include: *Off the Map: An Expedition Deep Into Empire and the Global Economy*, which won the National Federation of Press Women 2000 Book Award for General Non-Fiction; *My Name Is Chellis and I'm In Recovery From Western Civilization*; *When Technology Wounds: The Human Costs of Progress*, which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize for General Non-Fiction in 1991; and *Waking Up in the Nuclear Age*. She has also written for all kinds of newspapers and magazines and journals. Chellis lives in Chimayó, New Mexico, and is currently working on a book about the illicit heroin trade that's called *Chiva: the Ups and Downs of a Heroin Village*.

The first half of this interview appeared in the previous issue of *Green Anarchy* - Fall 2003 (#14) and focused mainly on her life, the work she is involved with in her community, and the direction of her current writing.

GA: *The most intense aspects of your work connect the traumatic experiences of surviving within modern civilization. Could you briefly discuss how the complex web of trauma, addiction, abuse, and dysfunction on a personal level is entwined with ecological destruction?*

Che: Trauma, addiction, abuse and dysfunction are *being experienced* on a personal level. In other words, each person that is harmed in some deep, cracking-open kind of way, is saddled with that experience, that struggle. And the means to healing that person is through that person. However, after a lifetime of exploring the relationship between the personal and the collective, I've truly come to see our personal struggles as reflections of the basic dynamics of the entire society. So that when a client comes to me and says, "My son is breaking up his marriage, and he's an alcoholic, and he's very aggressive when he's drinking, and no wonder his wife is leaving, and he's hitting bottom financially, and

I see technology not as the manifestation of scientific discoveries that were meant to be discovered, that we then call "progress." I see technology and those kind of discoveries as existing in the context of a certain mindset. And this mindset that produced the kinds of technologies that we have today is a mindset of separation, of being split off from the natural world.

as his mother I'm so distraught, and I've come all this way, and now I'm saddled with this, why me?" And whereas I feel for this sudden intrusion of a terrible situation that she will have to grapple with, there's a way in which "why me?" — while it's certainly how she feels — I can immediately see that there is no "why me?". I see it as a huge kind of snowball that's just rolling along, and it's made me really reflect on the basic nature of the human psyche. I believe that our psyches were created as mirrors of the environment around us, to help us be participants of the whole of the natural world. So if we grow up in, say, a land-based tribal community, our psyches are made to reflect, for instance, the seasons. Our psyches are made to reflect the wholeness of the environment, the completeness, the way in which we are not separated from it. The dark and the light, the unceasing parade of natural phenomena. The family. The connection to not just the animals and the seasons and the plants, but also the human family. And so what's happened as that relationship, that basic split between human and nature, and all the other splits, have come to be — some

believe as far back as paleolithic times, others go back to the neolith, others go back to just the industrial revolution — but as that split has become manifest in our human community, so it has become manifest in the human psyche.

So what if we are to go along with the work of Kirkpatrick Sale in a book that he's writing right now, in which he says that the split began when humans stopped being scavengers and began active hunting. And that split then separated us from the great round, from the sacred hoop, demanding that we begin to make rituals to try to mend that hoop. If you follow Kirkpatrick's line of thinking, that's what the beginnings of ceremonial life are all about, the effort to heal that split we made by beginning active hunting. If you look at it from a psychological perspective, it's the beginning of subject/object. Because of the profound identification that we have with

animals, with other live creatures that are like ourselves, in order to kill one, we have to objectify, we have to distance ourselves. And indeed, one of the main qualities of a traumatic experience is the dissociation, the parceling off of different aspects of our psyche that previously were kind of elliptical or like a mobius strip inside of us,

where everything is connected and there are no divisions; suddenly we would have to make that division in order to cage off, to corral off, the feeling of horror and grief that takes place when we engage in the act of killing.

John Zerzan speaks of a similar event or development in paleolithic times, when people began division of labor. And again, it requires a split. Division of labor comes to require a whole different way of thinking, whereas before, pretty much anybody could do almost anything to survive in the group. There is a split that takes place, a separation, whereas now these people do this and those people do that, and some people can sing, and some people can go in the spirit world, and others are to hunt, and others are to take care of the children, and that act is not sudden, but it gets rolling, and eventually there become these major divided arenas existing in the human psyche, so that in today's world, not only does trauma create those splits in our psyches, but those splits in our psyches make us candidates for perpetrating trauma. So you ask about the web of trauma, addiction, abuse and dysfunction on a personal level and its relationship with ecological destruction. That kind of a split, it's really the ultimate in us and them, is the human/nature split. Many writers have explored the relationship between the personal and the political in this arena, and Susan Griffin is one of the writers who I think has explored it most powerfully, particularly in her book *Woman and Nature*. The reflection between themes of, for instance, discrimination or violence against women, against animals, and against the ecology, the basic ecology of our existence.

So, when a client comes to me and says, "I'm bereft because my son is a raging alcoholic and is in bankruptcy and his marriage is splitting up, and we all now have to take this on," and then concludes "poor me," that "poor me" is that kind of throwing your hands up — and I'm speaking very compassionately of this — you know, it's throwing your hands up and saying, "My god, what situations we have to deal with in our lives." But I would almost at this point say about this moment of grief and shock that it's more accurate to say, "poor us."

GA: What is the role of technology in this process of alienation and degradation of life?

Che: You know, maybe it's a testimony to the essential wholeness of the human psyche that it's difficult to answer questions like this. Maybe in a way that wholeness still very much exists. Because it is hard to pick apart one thread or one aspect of this whole dysfunction that's going on. You know, here's Kirkpatrick and he comes along and he points to the contribution of active hunting. And here's Zerzan, and he comes along, and he points out the contribution of division of labor. And it's all kind of a whole clock, you know, it's all of a piece. But then, the parts of our mind that have been separated off, and the kind of language that has emerged from that separation, it does make it possible for us to begin to grapple with a fatal aspect of the whole, which in this case is technology.

I see technology not as the manifestation of scientific discoveries that were meant to be discovered, that we then call "progress." I see technology and those kind of discoveries as existing in the context of a certain mindset. And this mindset that produced the kinds of technologies that we have today is a mindset of separation, of being split off from the natural world. And in fact, the great discoveries of modern Western science have been about picking things apart, right

down to picking apart atoms or picking apart genetic material, picking apart the body, picking apart everything in sight. And another theme of Western science, and therefore the technologies that spring from it and manifest it, is the theme of universalization, the sense that everything on this planet is of a piece, and can be picked apart universally, and maybe on some level that's true — earth, water, air, fire. But the thought doesn't translate socially or culturally, because every culture, every grouping of human beings and the physical ways as well as the thought-form ways that they have evolved to survive on this planet are unique. Certainly there are archetypal forms like the group and the family and the male and the female, but each culture is very individual and springs from the particular ecology of the place where it exists. And so, the universalization is a kind of a basic thought of the beginning of empire — to spread out, to "make it all mine," to make it all the same. These are the times we're living in. We're living in the end stage of imperialism, when the entire world is now being held together and exploited, used, by the technologies that are holding it all together. So obviously in a situation like that, a rake and a straw just doesn't cut it. An arrowhead doesn't cut it. You need technologies that express and manifest that view. And therefore, as Gerry Mander was quick to point out back in the 1970s, technologies are political.



So that you need computers that can link people up instantaneously around the world. You need travel that can move people very quickly around the world. You need satellites, you need technologies that can look down and determine where everything is, whether it's where stores of coal are, or it's where people who are disgruntled and are rebelling are.

So the kinds of technologies that are taking a hold of our lives today are the technologies of the end stage of imperialism, the end stage of that manifestation of universalism in science. And these technologies are very destructive, because in order to

mow over all of those sustainable, very unique cultures that evolved as the human way of surviving on this planet, you need technologies of war so that you can take that basic quality of splitting which I've been talking about that possibly dates back to the paleolith, and apply it on the most minute or the most grand levels — for instance, to split the atom, to create a technology that can destroy huge portions of the planet.

GA: How does the system recuperate and use dysfunction and alienation to perpetuate itself?

Che: When I think about this question, I think about the ways in which the system is ever-dedicated to alienation and universalism and degradation and abuse. Trauma, how does it use the resulting qualities in the human psyche, which are dysfunction and alienation, to perpetuate itself? Thus we are very, very needy. The natural stages of development to go from being a newborn into being a mature human being — and I will refer to Erik Erikson's work here, are not being answered in the society that we live in. The first stage of human development, that the human psyche naturally is drawn to answering in itself so that it can go on to the next stages of development, is the sense of belonging, the sense of security. And here you are born not into a chanting, natural birth in nature, but you are born into a sterile room and brought out and slapped, and perhaps you're even brought out of your mother's body using drugs and metal forceps to pull you out.

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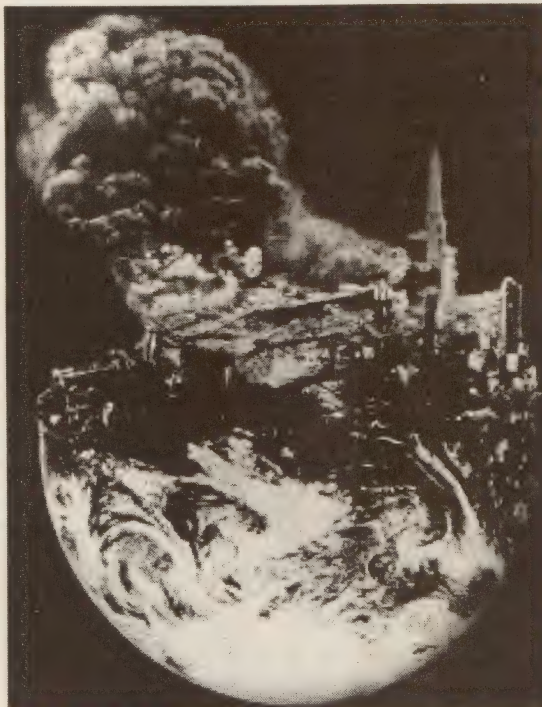
And you come into a family that in many, many cases is a family that is experiencing insecurity, uncertainty, perhaps some manifestation of the dysfunction in the form of alienation or abuse, and that need to come into being held and being welcomed, and feeling the connection between mother's breast and the river running by is not answered. And there is not a sense of security. There is not a sense of belonging coming into this world. And then your psyche, in time, naturally moves on to the next stage, which is a series of stages that have to do with developing one's sense of will and individuation, but you're not standing on solid ground. So you can't move into those stages as a full human being, as we were meant to. And then on top of that, whatever traumas and violence and discriminations that you experience in this society based on who you are and what particular realm of it you are born into. We become very needy. And then here comes the media, and here comes the mall, and here comes the military, and they are offering images that somehow replace real experiences that we should be having, and they are offering up the lunge toward artifacts and things that we can acquire to make us feel better, to make us perhaps feel more powerful, and we can join the military, and, by the way, fight for imperialism, but along the way learn to be somebody's conception of "all we can be." So that's, I think, at least one angle on how the system perpetuates itself, because in the system, we are — this is another example of all of a piece here — we are so very insecure.

GA: *In My Name is Chellis, you say you are in recovery from Western civilization. Nodoubt. Eurocentric imperialism has destroyed more quickly and thoroughly than perhaps any organized activity in history. Yet all civilization is based on domination of the earth and all of its life. What are some of the specific factors that give Western civilization its particularly destructive quality?*

Che: Because I have lived my life within Western civilization, it's a little hard to bring a lot of perspective to this question. Actually, it's curious because I just learned from a client of mine, who has family in China, that Alcoholics Anonymous and its many offshoots have not made any headway in China, that it just doesn't fit with the culture. So it's hard for me to propose that one day there might be a book or perhaps there is a book called *My Name is So-and-So and I'm in Recovery From Chinese Civilization*. Or *My Name is Somebody Else and I'm In Recovery From Meso-American Civilization*. But I do know that Western civilization, perhaps through its vast and quick exploration of the world — the "Age of Exploration" in the 1400s and 1500s — and its grasp of so many resources around the world (including, by the way, China, a place of amazing biological resources), and because of the kinds of technologies that Western civilization was able to develop on its own or to borrow from other civilizations, like Chinese civilization, and use for its own purposes. Maybe in some way it was a function of just the timing, that Western civilization came along at a time when other civilizations had developed certain technologies that could be taken even further. It's hard to really know. Maybe it's because of the severe wounding of the peoples

of northern Europe that came about through earlier conquerings. Maybe it tracks all the way back to the development of active hunting in northern Europe. Whatever it is, we know that Western civilization is particularly destructive, and its values and its ways are the juggernaut of the destruction of life on the planet at this point.

GA: *In Off the Map, you link imperialism and domination to concepts of abstraction, as in maps, borders, cybernetics. Do you see this separation from direct experience as the root of control?*



Che: I see it as a root of control in the sense that those who are actively engaged in perpetrating the kind of control that causes so much suffering, so much destruction, and so much death, are themselves the "way out there" manifestations of the kind of alienation of parts of oneself, disconnected from the natural human heritage, which is our connection to our environment, to the earth. And you can see this separation. As a psychologist, I'm very attuned to it. You can see it — one of the things I really like to do is when "our" President is giving one of his addresses, I like to turn on the TV and turn the sound off and look at the body language. And there is an individual who is highly alienated from himself and is clearly enacting some need for control that springs from an immense insecurity. Now, here's a little tidbit, which is that there is a person in my village in northern New Mexico who was George Bush's teacher at Phillips-Exeter Prep School. And while we were

standing around the post office, this individual tells me about experiences with George Bush when he was in high school back in the '60s, and that there was already a haughtiness and an urge toward hurting other people manifesting in his psychology, a kind of bully nature that was already there. So this curious little tidbit that I picked up at the post office (and I know that there are other people who have done and are doing a more extensive psychological analysis or diagnosis of certain people in power) is quite revealing.

But I also see the separation from direct experience — it's not just the root of control; it's also the root of acquiescence, because the more that the people of this planet receive our understanding of the world, receive our knowledge, through a screen, the more that we are disconnected from ourselves through these technologies whose hallmark is the expression and the perpetration of alienation, the less likely we are to respond in any meaningful way. And I think that this leads into why it is that the most powerful movements challenging the destruction of the planet are not springing from the most industrialized nations. They are not springing from the United States, nor western Europe, nor, say, Japan. Not that there aren't right-on movements in these societies, but the bulk of people who are highly aware and highly conscious of what's going on in the world today are people who have learned power relations through direct experience. And that is people who don't have computers and don't have cellphones, largely springing from Third World countries. Just last week, I had the opportunity to participate in a demonstration at the border between El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Mexico, and I took some cabs to get to the demonstration. It was October 11, a Columbus Day sort of thing. And I was really taken with the level of sophistication and knowledge of the cab drivers. These were Mexican cab drivers driving cabs in El Paso. And their analysis of American power, of corporate power,

of the source of the murders of so many women, the reasons for poverty in the Third World, were absolutely "state of the art", but did not come from reading literature on the internet, but through direct experience. When I speak to my Mexican *indocumentado* friends here in the United States, they often say, quite cold-facedly — it's even shocking to me, because I still live in the world of order, where there is still some semblance of order that's being held together in the United States — that the answer is revolution.

GA: *Your writing style, it seems, has been strongly influenced by Susan Griffin. How much does the work of Griffin and other eco-feminists influence your work in general? What other eco-feminist authors could you suggest to our readers that could further deepen the anti-civilization critique?*

Che: Well, I just adore the work of Susan Griffin. She is one of the first writers that I have encountered who writes the way I think. When I read the work of Susan Griffin — *Woman and Nature, A Chorus of Stones* — it's as if my own mind is being reflected back to me. And that had a very major impact on my own writing, because the more I read Susan, the more I wanted to write in a way that reflected the way that I think.

Susan also was one of the early feminists to make some very startling observations of the society that we live in. It's really mind-blowing to realize that she wrote *Woman and Nature*, which was, in a very poetic way, drawing forth the metaphors between woman, animal, nature, and oppression. The work was written in the mid-1970s, so she was alone in her vision, and it came through her.

So what other eco-feminist authors would I suggest to readers that could further deepen the anti-civilization critique? Well, I have a confession to make, and that is that I really do view all feminists as eco-feminists, and I view all women writers who are coming from land-based cultures that still exist to some extent but are probably being destroyed, as feminists. And so I see them as eco-feminists too. But let me just name a few authors who have been meaningful

There is not a sense of belonging coming into this world. And then your psyche, in time, naturally moves on to the next stage, which is a series of stages that have to do with developing one's sense of will and individuation, but you're not standing on solid ground. So you can't move into those stages as a full human being, as we were meant to...

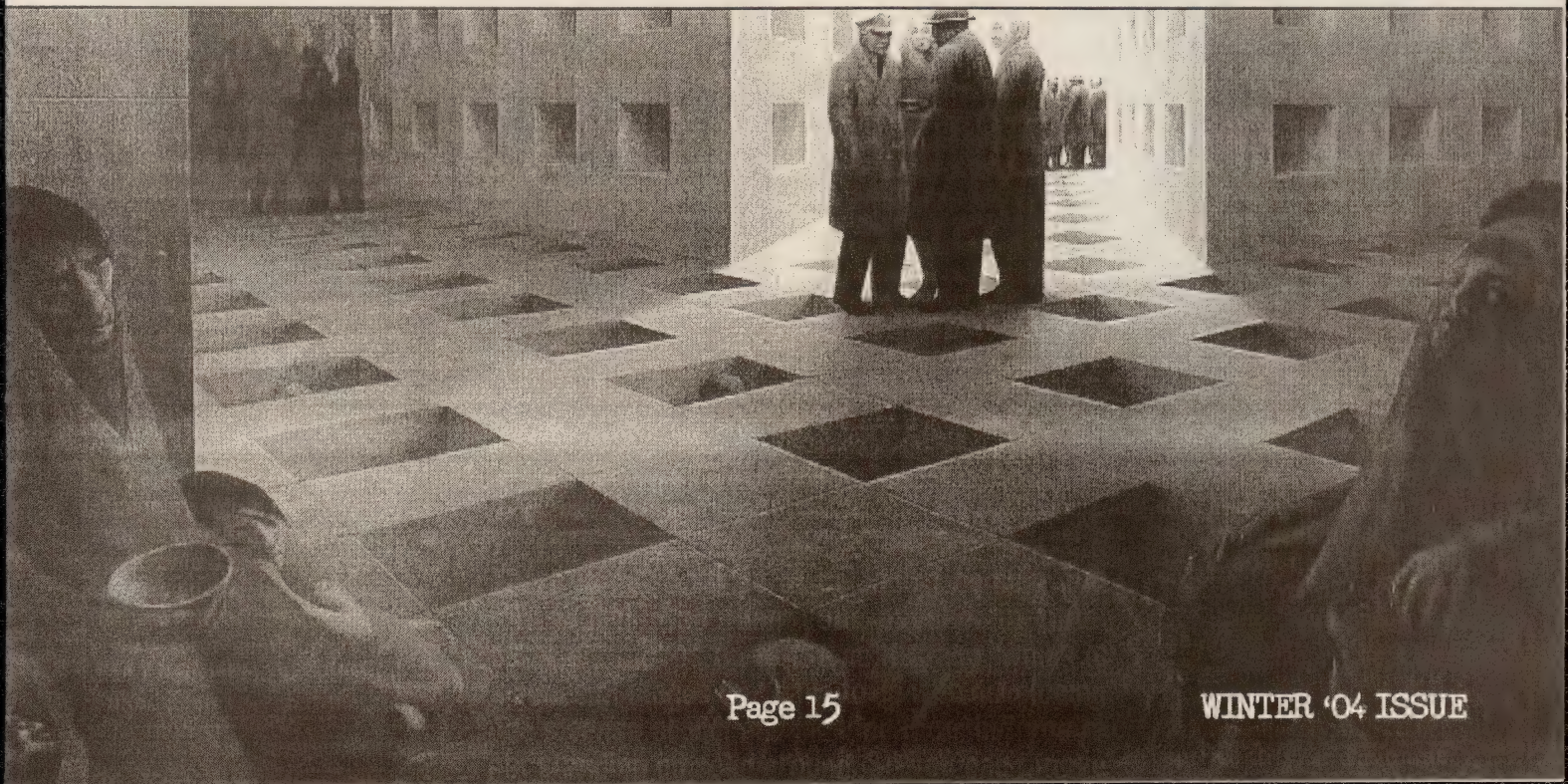
to me, and it goes back to the beginning of the women's movement, when we didn't have access to very much material, and so we were kind of scraping into some of the early works of women writers in the '40s and '50s and digging out Esther Harding and Helen Diner and writers like this, and we were also uncovering the socialist Evelyn Reed, Marie von Frantz, a Jungian. And out of that nascent excavation, some of our own writers emerged to comment on women's history and women's spirituality and women's politics, like Merlin Stone, who was one of the early writers, Mary Daly, Charlene Spretnak, Susan came out of

that tradition as well. Sally Gearhart, Hallie Austen, Judith Plant — these are some of the people who came out of that early exploration in the second wave of the women's movement. I also love to read and really appreciate the work of Lucy Lippard, who is a very respected art critic who has, in recent years, lent her very intelligent eye into issues of place and ecology; Rebecca Solnit, who is a wonderful essayist; Marjorie Agosin, who writes tremulously about Latin American life and politics; Isabelle Allende from Chile; the poet Gloria Anzaldua; Joy Harjo - her poetry is a thing of ecstasy in its simple connection to the music of the land; and Arundati Roy from India; Stephanie Mills; Terry Tempest Williams — these are just some of the fantastic women writers who are, on some level, writing about the earth, its glories, and our potential for survival against the ravages of civilization.

Taped Oct. 16, 2003

***Off the Map** is in bookstores. **My Name is Chellis** and **I'm In Recovery From Western Civilization** can be ordered from a bookstore or via underthesurface@clerk.com

***Also, check-out: U. S. Off The Planet: An Evening With Ward Churchill And Chellis Glendinning**, a wonderful documentation of two speeches delivered by Ward and Chellis on June 17th, 2001, for the two-year anniversary of the anti-capitalist insurgency in Eugene. Available from the **Green Anarchy Distro** on CD or Video (see last page to order).



Electric Funeral

By The Havoc Mass

An In-Depth Examination of the Megamachine's Circuitry

"In a single superpower world, there is a single best target for those dissatisfied with the status quo. Critical infrastructures are the best target sets within that best target, and the electric power infrastructure is arguably the most vulnerable of the critical infrastructure."

-Lt. Colonel Bill Flynt,
Office of Homeland Security

It's 2004 and the planet is under assault by an exterminist megamachine following its own techno-logic of self-annihilation. This now monolithic power structure, with its vast web of administrative grids and military networks, is the suicidal unconscious(ness) of patriarchal history marshalling toward armageddon – the burning, blood-soaked finale of civilization's pathological death instinct. Two worlds, uncompromisingly opposed to one another, have come into furious collision: the flowing waters of free life and the stagnant, poisoned wells of techno-industrial civilization.

A storm is gathering, and out of the death rattle of our age a wave of new life is arising: new anti-authoritarian resistance movements that are awakening to the horror and desperation of our plight, movements that are ready to throw themselves into open warfare with the techno-industrial system and its omnicidal trajectory. These new movements – born out of a hope for liberation in our Earth's darkest hour – have inspired millions worldwide and have opposed the system with a ferocity that hasn't been seen in this country in decades.

But one thing many of these new rebel movements seem to be lacking is an overall strategy, a strategy which calls for and which can actualize the collapse of the Death Machine. If we're in agreement that our objective is to shut down the Megamachine, then we need to take a close look at the physical anatomy of the Mechanistic Order and figure out actions we can take to "level the playing field". Machines, institutions and "reality" itself are socially constructed and are thus amenable to *de-construction*. The civilization we inhabit (or more accurately, *of which we are prisoners*) is an Electrical Civilization and it seems obvious to us that the electrical grid offers a soft underbelly to saboteurs at every turn. Let's face it: the eleventh hour is approaching, Moloch is feeding on war victims beyond measure, the genetic structure of life itself is being manipulated by the death merchants of science, and we're running out of air to breathe...

Our tactics NEED to escalate if we're going to tear this diseased system down – *physically* – and drag its filthy corpse off the planetary stage once and for all.

Italy in the Eighties: A Strategy Emerges

"These writings appeared in Palermo in solidarity with the actions where electricity pylons of the ENEL company were sawn through in Caorsa and Montato (the central line). These are the latest examples in a series of acts of sabotage that have been carried out for some time now all over Italy. Why are the police and the judiciary unleashing such a disproportionate response to this kind of action? In our opinion these direct actions that anyone can accomplish at any time and in any place, possibly frighten them more than the very formation of a closed armed group. This is because the specific armed group is controllable due to the programme and logic that it adheres to, while the spreading of acts of sabotage puts the power structure in difficulty because anyone can carry out such acts. It is enough to obtain a hacksaw and choose a pylon.

This does not please the Greens, the pacifists or environmentalists because such actions undermine their work as politicians tending to homogenize the movement to their practice of platonic dissent.

Against the high priests of ecology we reaffirm our antagonism and disdain. For we antagonists direct action is an attack against the structures producing nuclear energy."

-Palermo anarchist group, 1987

In the late 1980's in Italy a heated (and we mean this literally) battle was being fought against the construction of nuclear power plants and the industries and think-tanks responsible for producing this technology. On one side of the struggle were all the various reformist political forces (Greens, the Communist Party, "environmentalists", pacifists) who proposed anti-nuclear legislation and referenda and who attempted to put the struggle on an institutional level, thoroughly integrated into governmental/parliamentary logic. But an equally important component of the struggle was a loose confederation of insurrectional anarchists, libertarians and non-aligned comrades who operated outside and against the institutional framework and who actualized their resistance, not just as blockades at the nuclear power plants, but as a generalized attack on atomic energy.

In 1986, a vital crossroads in the struggle was reached, when anarchists - frustrated with the constrained "game-playing" of the nuclear reformers - began to develop a movement against the nuclear project that was autonomous and radical. As the "Provocazione" editorial group put it at the time: "To the mountains of scrap paper produced by those who support and practice parliamentary referendums, we propose direct action, the only possibility of really transforming this society because it points out the need for attack against the structures of dominion (including the nuclear ones) and the objectives to aim at. Our allies and accomplices are the antagonists and rebels, because they want to live, not vegetate, rising up and making a mockery of the reformists preaching survival." It was in this social context that new and effective strategies against nuclear energy and the power grid itself began to emerge...

-On July 12, 1987, a high tension ENEL (Ente Nazionale per l'Energia Alternativa) pylon in Cosenza, Italy, was sawn at the base. After having sawn the pylons, the unknown nightworkers pulled them down, putting out of action an electroduct line of 150 thousand volts. The same fate befell another ENEL pylon in the area of Pec del Brasimone on September 9, 1987. That pylon, which feeds the nuclear reactor of Pec, was also sabotaged by unknown persons who left a leaflet at the spot: "No to the nuclear and coal power stations, no to war, no to the energy bosses."

-On March 8, 1988, a group calling itself Antinuclear Revolutionaries attacked another electrical pylon in Italy. Here is an excerpt from their communique:

"On March 8, we cut down a high tension pylon in the Cosenza region. In this way we mean to strike at the infamous ENEL gang, protagonists in the atomic project in Italy and abroad. We delegate our freedom to control our lives to no one and want to destroy the one they have organized for us now. The misery of waged work, nuclear death, the increasing militarisation of our territory and society itself are the prisons that call themselves social democracy.

The nuclear nightmare is an effective policeman for terrorising the population, creating that state of impotence and delegation in order to continue to govern us. The complicity of the political parties, with words and power games and sweet illusions through referendums, is clearly trying to kill the antinuclear struggle and bury it in an institutional field. We refuse this.

The farce of the National Energy Conference called by the ENEL and the Government, shows the clear will to make a choice decided long ago seem like something to be discussed in Parliament. Let us spread sabotage over the whole territory, striking the structures that are bringing about such projects of death."

-During the night between March 12 and 13, 1988, another two pylons were sawn down: one in the area of Rome Settebagni, another in the Cosenza area. The sabotage was claimed with a letter to the press agency Ansa, in which unknown comrades declared themselves to be against nuclear power stations.

-On April 13, 1988, the day on which the Regional Administrative Tribunal of Lazio granted a repeal to ENEL who were asking for work to be allowed to recommence on the electronuclear plant at Montalto di Castro, three bomb attacks took place against the nuclear industry. During the night, paper bombs exploded at an ENEL research laboratory and at two firms: the Carlo Gavazzi Control Co., which produces condensers, and the Passoni and Villa Co., which produces electrical and electronic components. The attacks were claimed by anarchist comrades in a leaflet which reached the ANSA press agency and Radio Popolare in Milan the next day. About a week later, on April 19, another antinuclear bomb exploded at the FITRE electronic communications agency in Milan. This attack was signed with an encircled A.

-On June 9, 1988, a main electrical line of the municipal firm of Vicenza was destroyed by flames. A leaflet was published in *Sicilia Libertaria* concerning the attack on this power line:

"We have sabotaged a high tension pylon above Crotone, where factories pour out toxic clouds, pollution, exploitation, products as useless as they are poisonous. THE MAFIA OF CAPITAL AND ITS STATES IS PUTTING INTO EFFECT THE ABSOLUTE DESTRUCTION OF LIFE ON EARTH! Their accomplices are the politicians, parties, trade unions, "men of culture", "scientists". The enforced accomplices to their own extermination are the people corrupted and subjected by the myths of "wellbeing", "commodity", "civility", "progress". We are fighting to free ourselves from this imminent perspective. That can only seriously come about after the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and of the environment.

So we are attacking with sabotage, with the refusal of consumerism and waste, and say: stop immediately every kind of industrial production and carburation (traffic, heating, industry) that is even slightly polluting, and all the other processes of plundering of the environment that are just as stupid and homicidal."

-And finally, on October 15, 1988, in the mountainous area of "Noce" in the province of Catanzaro, a 150 thousand kilowatt ENEL electricity pylon was partly sawn down. At the base of the pylon, the Carabinieri (Italian pigs) found a timer device and some leaflets which the unknown saboteurs had left behind.

Since that period of time, attacks on the electrical power-structure seem to be a favored tactic of anarchists in Italy. In the 90's - alongside the blitzkrieg infestation of computers and cell phones - came a deepening

of the critique and a broadening praxis that addressed the whole electrical web by which we are ensnared. Microwave towers and cellular antennae are now common targets for revolutionary sabotage, as it becomes more and more obvious that our planet is being transformed into an all-pervasive, deadly electro-magnetic field where invisible emissions and silent currents of cancer course through our bodies daily. (See this issue's "Direct Action" news sections for more recent examples.)

You Have the Power, But the Night Belongs to Us!

There have also been several noteworthy instances in North America of radicals hitting the electrical infrastructure "where it hurts", though they've been more sporadic and more censored by the State. Still, bits and pieces of radical folklore concerning these incidents survive in the "oral tradition" of certain anarchist circles, and the memory of these rebellions hasn't been completely smothered by decades of establishment propaganda. One of the more interesting (and widespread) incidents of electrical sabotage in North America occurred during the so-called "Trouble on the Prairie" which erupted in the 1970s, during the "energy wars" between Minnesota farming communities and both public and private electrical utilities.

For example, in Lowry, Minnesota, a community group named "General Assembly to Stop the Powerline" organized to stop a powerline "right-of-way" crossing through their rural farmland. It was decided by the community that a "total tactic" would be used: demonstrations were staged, protest letters were written to State representatives, but the power plans still moved ahead. Then foundations and building materials were destroyed, and tractors pulled down dozens of transmission towers as they were erected. Finally, the State Police were called in, people were arrested, and the power-plants and power-lines were finally constructed and made operational. But in their 1981 manifesto, the community of Lowry discusses how their confrontation with the government dispelled many illusions they once had about "democracy":

"We survive. We were not stopped when we were repeatedly and shamefully betrayed by the politicians. We continue to endure the injuries inflicted by a parade of incompetent bureaucrats acting in collusion with the utilities. We were not defeated when callous judges kept deciding that the time and money of the power companies was more important than truth, and even more important than their law. The combined brute force of the FBI, the BCA, the State and local police, and private armies hired by the utilities, has not been strong enough to destroy us. And we have survived the lies, the threats and intimidations

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and deceptions, and the arrogant destruction brought upon us by the power companies themselves. The line went into commercial operation two years ago, and we are still survivors! That has never happened before..."

On July 3, 1981, near Moab, Utah, saboteurs toppled a Utah Power and Light transmission tower carrying 345,000-volt power lines seven miles south of Earth First!'s second annual Round River Rendezvous. No one was ever arrested for this action, nor for a similar one that occurred a year earlier in Colorado in which 3.2 miles of power lines were downed after their line supports were sawn through – costing the Colorado Ute Electric Association \$270,000 in repair bills.

There are a few more incidents of electrical sabotage in the nineties that we know about, but sadly, the practice has yet to really catch on in North America (the purpose of this article is to discuss this). In 1990, after Earth Day celebrations, unknown individuals calling themselves the Earth Night Action Group made two consecutive hits in Freedom, California, sawing first through two wooden power poles and then toppling a steel transmission tower belonging to the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. This caused a massive power failure that cut off electricity for Santa Cruz County residents for 10 to 18 hours. And in February 1996, pipebombs were used to attack a SCADA system at a hydroelectric plant in Oregon.

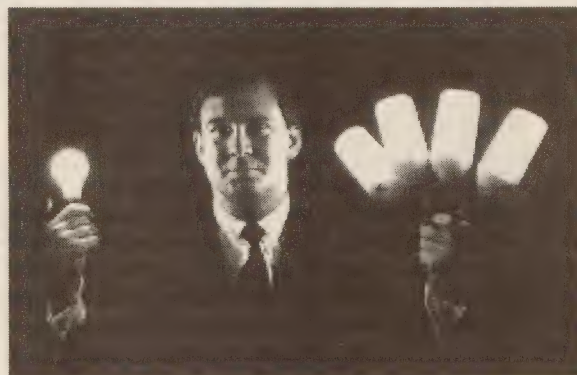
Sabotage: The Way to Success!

The imperialist nature of the power grid has long been recognized and resisted by indigenous communities as well, but space constraints prohibit us from tackling this subject in too much detail. Among the numerous examples of indigenous resistance to the encroachment of the electrical world is the struggle of indigenous Venezuelans against the state-run company "Electrificacion del Caroni" (EDELCA). In the late 1990's, the Indigenous Federation of Bolívar State, which encompasses the Pemón communities and other native groups, protested the construction of an electrical line system, fearing that it would lead to new mining settlements, tourism and urbanization in their ancestral lands. When their protests were ignored people began knocking down electrical towers intended to carry electricity from the Guri Dam in south-east Venezuela to northern Brazil. EDELCA reported at least four incidents of sabotage in September of 2000, including one in which seven towers were toppled overnight.

Silencing Telecommunications: A Dialogue With the Problem

The grand project that is cyberspace is grounded in the mundane realities of what is required to sustain it. The artificial, virtual

worlds of the internet are completely interconnected with the Electrical Order that permeates everything that exists, and are still reliant upon ancient and recurring themes tying the diagnostic "health" of civilization to its sources of energy, war and ecologic exploitation. Together this infrastructure materially represents and sustains the



spectacle of otherworldly immateriality while simultaneously depending upon a physical assemblage of wires, plugs and sockets to distribution lines and poles, to transformers and electrical power plants. Without these extensions – and without electricity – cyberspace would cease to exist, and so too would the new global economy as it depends upon electrical power, media and technology in order to function. Given the magnitude of the telecommunications industry (particularly the internet) and its criticality to other infrastructures, it's easy to see how the vulnerability of information communications systems could cripple even the most "impenetrable" power structure.

An AT&T network failure, for instance, would definitely affect the airline industry, which would have to cease operations because control towers could not communicate with each other. Computer viruses – another form of electronic warfare – could easily be unleashed with the intent of damaging networked computers on a global scale, including electronic banking and stock markets. In fact, we don't need to look any farther than the U.S. military for an idea of how effective electrical warfare can be. In Serbia, the U.S. and its Allies tested a "graphite bomb" cruise missile, in which canisters of graphite tape exploded into great nets of ribbon above power lines, which then short-circuited the electrical grid by causing power spikes and

arcing. In the Gulf and Serbian wars, electronically guided "smart bombs" sought out electrical power plants and telecommunication facilities via artificial intelligence (AI) software and global positioning systems (GPS), so as to nullify the electrical command of the enemy forces.

As these recent nation-state conflicts have shown us, the first step towards defeating your opponent lies in disabling or destroying their sources of artificial power. In addition to rioting outside of global economic summits, perhaps it's time for anarchists to look for ways to render industrial civilization inoperative by pulling the plug on its power grid (liberals who love their computers and the "networking" opportunities they supposedly afford us are advised to reflect on the Greek root of the word "cyber" – *kybernan* – which means to control or govern).

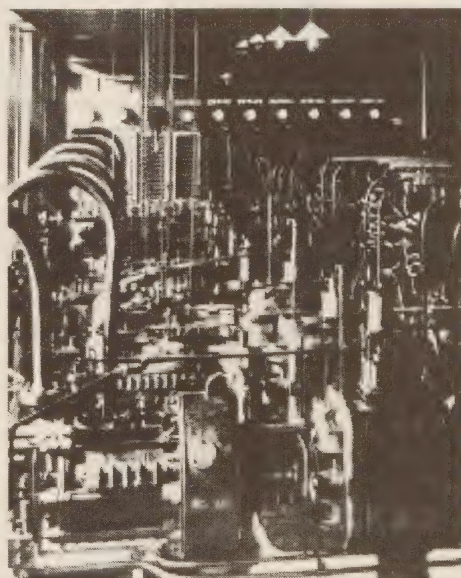
Objectis To Be Destroyed!

"It could be that, in the future, people will look back on the American Empire, the economic empire and the military empire, and say, 'They didn't realize that they were building their whole empire on a fragile base. They had changed that base from brick and mortar to bits and bytes, and they never fortified it. Therefore, some enemy some day was able to come around and knock the whole empire over.' That's the fear."

—Richard Clarke,

head of the President's Critical Infrastructure Advisory Board

The U.S. power transmission grid alone



has 204,000 miles of transmission lines served by four regional grids located across North America: Western Interconnection, Eastern Interconnection, Electricity Reliability Council of Texas, and Province of Quebec. The grid has a generating capacity of 800,000 mega-watts and is divided into Electricity Generation, Transmission and Distribution Sectors. These sectors contain a nationwide

network of 5,000 power plants fueled by natural gas, nuclear energy, hydropower (dams), oil, and coal, as well as a physical network of more than 4000 miles of gas pipelines, refineries, communication systems, and substations.

The basic structure of an electric power transmission and distribution system consists of a generating system, a transmission system, a subtransmission system, a distribution system, and a control center. Generally, the communication between the control center system and the field equipment takes place over utility-owned communications networks. Today, the majority of these networks are based on analog and digital microwave technology, though dedicated leased lines, power line carriers, satellites and fiber optics certainly play their role. This field equipment, called Remote Terminal Units (RTU's), acts as a clearing house for incoming data.

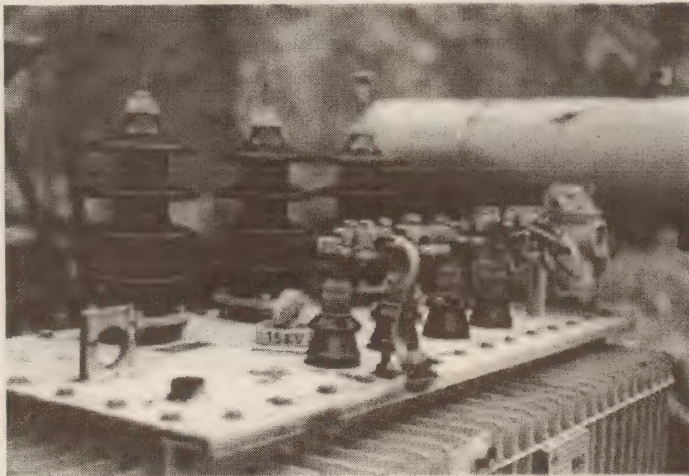
Digital control systems, such as SCADA (Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition Systems) supervise and regulate real-world structures like gas pipelines, oil refineries, and power grids. There are four or five companies, three of them European, that make the SCADA software that's widely used in the electric power industry. Most SCADA systems are running Microsoft-operating software, which means they can be manipulated remotely and that their users essentially have a target pointed on their foreheads.

Transformers, microwave towers, and transmission substations can often be found in isolated, unpopulated areas. Electrical substations will almost always be secured with nothing more than a lock on an access gate. Once inside, an experienced saboteur might destroy an entire substation. High voltage power lines are run on massive pylons, which are built on concrete foundations but are not designed to withstand sabotage. Each pylon has from four to eight legs, which are secured to their concrete foundations by massive bolts. Wrenches, blowtorches and explosives would all be sufficient to destroy the integrity of the entire structure; many of these power lines run through desolate areas and are only inspected once a week by maintenance crews, usually by helicopter.

Probably the main thing that makes the electrical grid such an enticing target is the fact that it's already falling apart, on its own! The 1996 blackout on the West Coast that affected 4 million people from British Columbia to Mexico (including parts of the U.S. stretching from Oregon to Wyoming) was caused when Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) transmission lines sagged into tree limbs. Similarly, on September 28, 2003, a tree uprooted by storms in Switzerland was blamed for paralyzing electricity supplies across Italy

when it cut a vital power line over the Alps. All of Italy, along with areas of Switzerland and Austria, were hit by the blackout. And of course, last August's huge blackout in the Northeast and parts of Ontario, lasted for days, and was the largest single power-outage in U.S. history.

The strong inter-linkages between industry sectors has also allowed non-humyn rebels to strike effective blows against the Empire:



In 1986, in California, a beaver strategically felled a 10-inch thick tree so that it fell across a major powerline. As a result, 400 residents of Cottage Grove and several industries lost their electricity for 3 hours (the victorious monkeywrencher was not caught!). In 1987, in Ft. Pierce, Florida, two onslaughts by jellyfish (unfairly considered by many as one of Earth's more ignominious species) at the St. Lucie nuclear power plant caused two separate shut-downs (the first jellyfish attack blocked the ocean-fed coolant system of the plant, while the second covered the water filtering system: the combined financial loss to the Florida Power and Light, Co. was more than \$1 million). And in New York, thousands of dollars are spent every year to replace cable TV wires that are used as tooth sharpeners by rodents, much to the consternation of boob-tube enthusiasts.

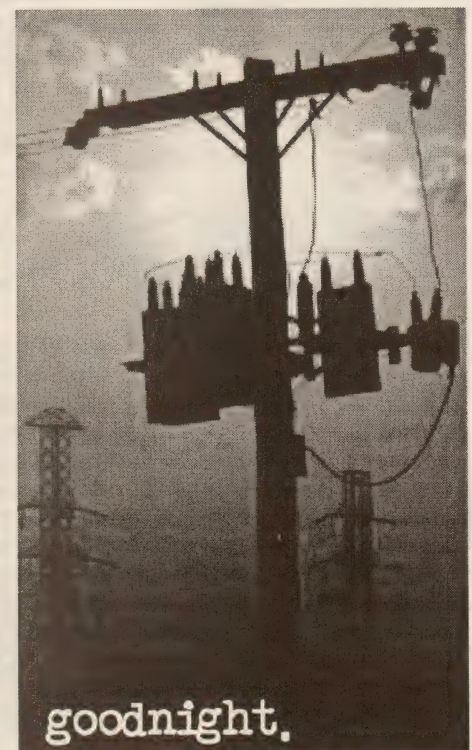
Lights Out!

As technology advances, so do its dependencies on other sectors: certain infrastructures are the customers of other infrastructures, and when electrical transmission capacity is unexpectedly lost, electrical generation must immediately be taken off-line. Otherwise, the generator's output will reroute and overload remaining transmission lines, causing "voltage oscillations" that will ripple through the power grid and pull down significant portions of it. Thus, a well-planned attack that cripples key energy facilities might severely hamper the distribution of natural gas and could easily lead to cascading failures of the power grid and the telecommunications system.

The costs associated with the August 2003 blackout in the U.S. are currently estimated at **\$700 million and growing**. One week after the U.S. power failure, Georgian separatist rebels shut down the Inguri hydroelectric station (in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict), when two sections of a 500,000 volt powerline were damaged by shots from an automatic weapon. As a result, the Inguri hydroelectric station shut down automatically, leaving all of Georgia without electricity. And indeed, the efficaciousness of infrastructural sabotage has not been lost on the Iraqi insurgents, who routinely engage in attacks on the oil infrastructure, directly thwarting attempts at coalition "reconstruction" and undercutting the funding for the installation of a CIA-backed puppet regime. In Basra, circuits running underground and belonging to the Bechtel Corporation are routinely attacked by people who pour gas on them and set the fuel ablaze.

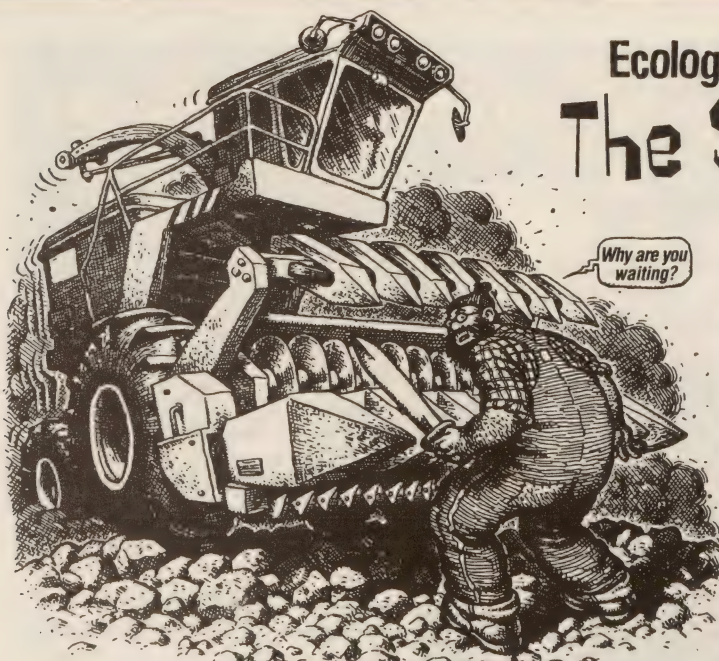
So welcome to the Wasteland! It's time to start anew...time to reclaim

the earthly paradise our ancestors once knew... prophecies are coming true as a cycle nears completion... global warming, acid rain, advanced ozone depletion... the signs of the times are everywhere, so let's make sure that we're prepared... to finish off the Megamachine before it can be repaired... when the power lines come crashing down and the roads disintegrate... we'll blend in with the pounding rains and move to smash the state!



Ecological Resistance From Around the World

The Struggle for Life is Non-Negotiable!



"Know Thine Enemy!"

July 12, 2003:

Eco-War Erupts in Italy!

A militant environmental group calling itself "Green Core" sent bullets to the offices of the Tuscany Regional Agency in the cities of Pisa, Florence and Livorno, Italy. Accompanying the bullets was a communiqué reading: "In these years you have destroyed our land, now it's enough. Your peace is finished."

September 1-7, Italy: Multiple Attacks Against Cellphone Antennae

In the past few months, there have been many manifestations of protest in Italy against the infestation of this technology.



On September 5th, in Rovereto, the cables of the Omnitel repeater of Mossano were set on fire. On September 7th, in Rovereto again, an Omnitel antenna was set on fire. A letter was sent to a local newspaper after this action, stating: "Repeater sabotaged, the WTO is also here. Not Pollution, Not control, nor Satellites." And two days later, in Trieste, the cables of an antenna for a cellular telephone company were set on fire.

September 21, Michigan: ELF Claims Incendiaries Left at Perrier Bottling Plant

The Earth Liberation Front Press Office recently received a communiqué from the ELF claiming that they left incendiaries at a pumping station supplying a water bottling plant owned by Nestle Waters North America (formerly known as the Perrier Group of America) in Mecosta County, Michigan. According to news reports, these incendiaries failed to ignite and were removed from the station without incident.

Controversy has surrounded the Ice Mountain Plant for the past several years, with local environmental groups asserting that the bottling plant will have a negative impact on the local ecosystem. Although the incendiaries failed to ignite, the ELF has sent a message that the commodification of water is an attack

on a fundamental right of all beings and must be stopped.

The communiqué follows:

When all legal avenues of dissent have been undertaken to no avail, only one option remains. Illegal direct action. The people of Michigan have stated very clearly that we do not want a Perrier Bottling Plant. We've had enough of empty political rhetoric about freedom and justice, enough of sitting back while our most basic rights are handed over to corporations. Clean water is one of the most fundamental necessities, and no one can be allowed to privatize it, commodify it, and try to sell it back to us.

We will no longer stand idly by while corporations profit at the expense of all others. To this end, we have taken action against one of the pumping stations that Perrier uses to steal water. On the night of Sunday, the 21st of September, the ELF penetrated the perimeter fence of an area of land used for canned hunts. This particular location, a short distance from Rodney, MI, near 13 Mile Rd and M20 is home to the pumping stations that supply the Perrier Bottling Plant I Mecosta County. Access to one of the pumping stations was gained and timed incendiary devices were placed. We will not allow the commodification of life to continue. Action must, and will, be taken, for it is our only chance. Water for Life, Not for Profit! Welcome to Michigan. ELF

"But they have everything. They have the organization and the control and the communications and the army and the police and the secret police. They have the big machines. They have the law and drugs and jails and courts and judges and prisons. They are so huge. We are so small."

"Bonnie, you think we're alone? I'll bet—listen, I'll bet right this very minute there's people out in the dark doing the same kind of work we're doing. All over the country, little bunches of folks in twos and threes, fighting back."

"You're talking about a well-organized national movement."

"No I'm not. No organization at all. None of us knowing anything about any other little bunch. That's why they can't stop us."

- Doc Sarvis, from The Monkey Wrench Gang

Editors' Note: The destructive effects of the omnical industrial hydra on the life-support capabilities of this fragile, beautiful third rock from the sun has placed the (predominantly) middle class, mainstream environmental movement in a tactical predicament: Do they really still believe that we have the luxury of time to wait for a mass movement, or any track record of success to lure us down this path? Do they really still cling to the illusion that their "legal monkeywrenching" and their "non-violent" protests accomplish anything more than gain brief, fleeting media visibility for the "cause", or – at best – create short term disruption in governmental decision making (while having little or no effect on the productive capability of the larger juggernaut)? The results of technological and scientific rationalism, the daily disasters of capitalism, are before everyone's eyes, they are in our bodies, on our plates. But the paid, "career" environmental activists, (who in their own way perversely profit from the system's murderous, decimating war on the earth) are too blinded by the bourgeois ideology of progress to see the horrendous truths of our crisis. Symbolic mass actions and the far-reaching "program" to educate people, we are told by these office-bound "experts", should be the thrust of the environmental struggle. And NEVER should we question the despotic reproduction

and administration of a life-devouring social organization (conceptualized as "Democracy" by its liberal apologists) that, despite certain faults and excesses, must go forward.

Should these "Eco-reformers" ever recognize the thralldom of politics to technocracy, they will say ruefully that they are at least "buying time". But while they debate, species vanish; while they compromise, wilderness shrinks. In response to the paralysis and bankruptcy of the mainstream "environmental establishment," a new generation of Eco-warriors has emerged from the underground and are providing extremely direct solutions to the strategic impasse created by the limited thought patterns of their bungling predecessors. This is a generation reared in decaying buildings of a bombed-out "urban renewal" setting, for whom even the shriveled nuclear family has disintegrated, a generation who have only known polluted air and chlorine-treated water, a generation for whom the apocalypse has already occurred.

These young radicals understand the necessity to act NOW, regardless of, or perhaps more importantly, in lieu of numbers. The Earth Liberation Front is at the cutting-edge of this new movement and has been very active in the Michigan area since at least the spring of 2001, when they attacked six Butcher Boy Meat trucks, vandalized a McDonald's franchise and torched eight SUVs at a Roy O'Brian Ford dealership. These "training exercises" were followed by one of the best actions yet against the timber industry when, in July 2001, the ELF torched an office belonging to the Weyerhaeuser Co. in the Detroit area (see *Green Anarchy #7* for more details on all these actions). 2003 saw a new upsurge of struggle as the ELF launched a daring field campaign against urban sprawl in and around Detroit. Federal "anti-terrorist" agents got so freaked out that they began to claim publicly that the safety of Bill Ford, Jr., the great grandson of Henry Ford and the chief executive of the family car company, was under threat from

the ELF, who were believed to be responsible for a spate of arson attacks near Ford's country home. Amidst greatly-exaggerated "warnings" from a hysterical FBI and Michigan State Police, Ford stepped up security as his car company celebrated its centennial, and kept public appearances to a minimum.

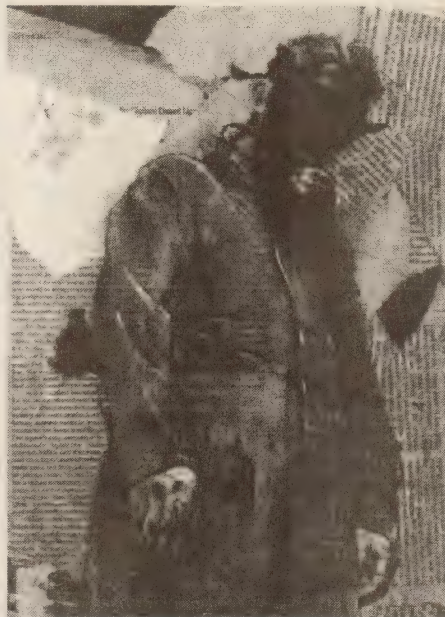
Finally, on September 21, 2003, the smoldering fires of revolt flared up again when the ELF made their arson attempt on a Perrier Water Bottling Plant. The significance of this most recent action in Michigan lies in the atrocity it was designed to confront: the commodification of WATER, central and sacred to all species and life. Water scarcity - related directly to industrial agriculture and deforestation - is already becoming a life-and-death matter in water stressed areas in Africa, China, India, Mexico and the Middle East. We can count on the "water wars" intensifying in the decade ahead of us. We extend our thanks and solidarity to the ELF for taking action against the system's latest violation of life and for illuminating new threats and assaults on the horizon.



October 24, Indiana: ELF Sabotages Wal-Mart Construction Site!

In its 11th known (claimed) action of 2003, the Earth Liberation Front has taken credit for extensive sabotage at the site of a Wal-Mart

under construction in Martinsville, Indiana. What follows is what many of us in the *Green Anarchy Collective* consider to be one of the best ELF communiqués ever released:



On 10/24/2003 in Martinsville, IN we visited a construction site for a new Wal-Mart store. We pulled up dozens of survey stakes, spray-painted building walls and machines. Sabotage was done to over a dozen pieces of heavy machinery and vehicles by putting sand in the fuel tanks, slashing tires, and cutting engine hoses and tubes. Before leaving we broke out 20-30 construction machine windows.

We are overwhelmed by the amount of shit society offers us. We look around and see our lives displayed in neon lighting. In one city block there is a McDonald's, a Chevron, a couple of banks, and a Taco Bell. Two massive car dealerships glow in the short distance, the new SUV's proudly displayed in the front. We can even see the old Wal-Mart, which apparently wasn't large enough or new enough to satiate a growing population of consumers. Everything must be new, and it must be big. Even the highway passing through town isn't big enough. And there is nothing unique about this specific location. This is life in North America. This is becoming everywhere.

But what life is to be found in this? Some will have us believe that this is what should be desirable to us. Things are just large enough to keep us looking and shopping. Things are just fast enough that we never even have to leave our cars for most of our transactions, as we speed off to work. Everything is convenient and people are satisfied, and for those who might be discontented with this reality, there is plenty of television to watch.

Most people are content with this, but we are not. We know that life does not have to be one monotonous routine played out over and over again. We know that the places we live can offer us much more than Wal-Marts and McDonalds and Chevrons. We know, because at times we have experienced a break with this reality, and know that other

possibilities exist.

And how can things change really?

For us, sabotage may not be a means to change any world but our own, as an expression of our feelings toward this society. We strike for ourselves, out of our own frustrations, and rage and despair...as a means of therapy and adventure. Because to not act, or to resign oneself to such an impoverished life of working and consuming is not good enough for us. We are not content and intend to express this.

This society offers us shit...How can we repay them?

E.L.F.

November 21, Marne, Italy: Transformer Torched

An electrical transformer belonging to the Enel Corporation was sabotaged with fire. A message was left saying "no to biotechnologies".

November 26, British Columbia: SUV's Spray-Painted

According to a corporate news report, four expensive Sports Utility Vehicles (SUV's) were spray-painted with messages like "pollution machine" and "status symbol" in Vancouver's middle-class Kitsilano neighbourhood.

"These people aren't environmentalists. They're arsonists." - Carl Pope, executive director of the Sierra Club

"TERMINATING TERMINATOR TECHNOLOGY"

The Industrial Empire (sneaking along under its euphemism "civilization") has already died, it simply hasn't fallen over yet. Its "hybrid" seed is dead. Twenty percent of the agricultural poisons exported from the US to the people of the "Third World" by the transnational industrial elite are so toxic that they can't even pass the obviously fraudulent and inadequate FDA "tests" for use in the US. The same goes for the GMO "food" that our masters attempt to dump on famine-stricken regions like Zimbabwe, plunging the biotic community even further into apocalypse. That's all we need to know, for it shows us the future of the empire that would commit such a crime. The elite is so degenerate that they now seek to marinate us all – including themselves – in a carcinogenic, mutagenic chemical froth. Civilization is running psycho-biologically amok and genetic engineering is without a doubt one of the most pressing and immediate threats to the continuation of free life on this planet.

For that (and other) reasons, we are committed to spreading the word about each and every incident of anti-genetics sabotage that we hear about, even if those actions are more than six months old. We publish these action reports in the hope that it will inspire others to take up the battle against biotech. Urgency is the call of the day. The juggernaut of civilization, founded on technology and domination, refined by industrial production and consumption-driven empires, is gaining momentum. The Third World war has already started and its most lethal "weapon of mass destruction" is biotech. Those of us who live in the belly of the beast and have realized this must recognize the imperative to act now.

Anti-GE Actions

May, 2003, Casalmorano, Italy: Attack on Machinery

Fires are set amongst trucks and machinery at a Syngenta site. A spray-painted slogan reading "No GMOs, No Syngenta, No Pesticides, Sab Biotech" was left behind.

August, Parma, Italy: GMO Crop Torched

A Pioneer Hi-Bred production plant is torched, stopping production during peak harvest. A spray-painted slogan reading "Pioneer pollutes seeds, Fire to GMOs" is left behind.

July 26, Japan: GE Soybeans Destroyed

Ibaragi – GM soybeans resistant to Roundup Ready herbicide that were being grown by a farmer in the Yawara prefecture of Japan were plowed into the soil and destroyed.

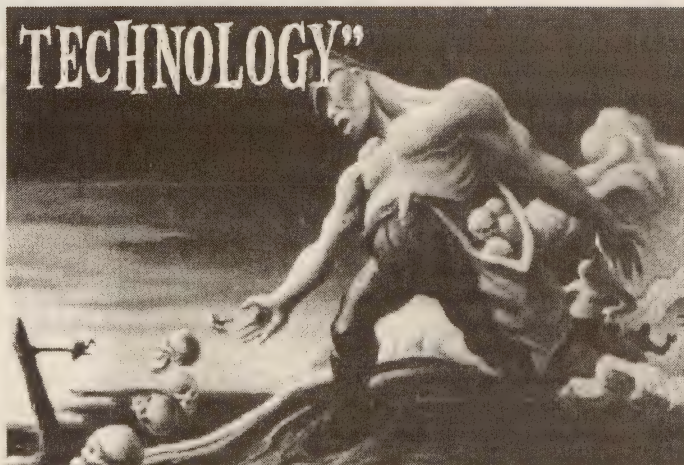
September 12, India: Monsanto Greenhouse Destroyed

Bangalore - Indian farmers wrecked a research station run by Monsanto, the US firm with a monopoly on the sale of genetically modified cotton seeds in the six of India's 29 states that permit them. At least 29 farmers were arrested by the government's

security forces; two Monsanto workers were also injured during the mayhem. "One greenhouse was destroyed. We lost valuable plants and are seriously concerned," said Monsanto India. "We timed the attack for those attending the WTO in Cancun," said the Karnataka Farmers Association. Monsanto is the only company allowed to sell GM cotton seeds in India – with a modified bacterium gene to make them "pest resistant" – through its joint venture partner, the Maharashtra Hybrid Seeds Company. Sales in 2003 were 216% higher than the previous year, which was India's first.

September 16, Spain: Protesters Invade GM Corn Fields

Arunjuez – Spanish farmers and ecologists invaded fields of genetically-modified corn to rage against the "inevitable advance of biotech" in one of the only European countries where GMO's are grown on a commercial scale. Around 80 protesters, some dressed in white suits that mimicked the protective outfits scientists wear to clearing up biological hazards, cordoned off GM plants and painted slogans on walls at three GM trial sites throughout Spain.



"We and the Luddites are fighters in the same war. Two hundred years ago the English elite's main enemy was the peasantry which lived for the most part outside the cash economy and was forever rising up. The elite used the enclosure of land and the mechanization of crafts and agriculture to crush the rebellious autonomy of the English poor. The class was eradicated by physical force and the elite's technology and forced to become wage slaves in the emerging factories or on the farms of the rich.

Two hundred years, and many struggles later, the English poor are for the most part wasting their lives in crap jobs or depressed and drug-ridden on the dole – their rebelliousness almost totally extinguished, our history forgotten. Meanwhile the (now global) elite continues to wage a war on the class that remains the main threat to its existence – the global peasantry. The relative autonomy and link with the land that fuelled the Zapatistas in Mexico, the Viet Cong in Vietnam and the MST in Brazil has to be destroyed. This is where genetic engineering comes in.

The relative autonomy of the peasantry has always rested on its ability to grow its own food without the major involvement of the market. Every harvest farmer can collect the seeds from their crops and re-sow the following year. In many ways, the seed both symbolically and literally holds the key to freedom. Understanding this, the elites' new technologies change the seed from a key to freedom to a key to further slavery.

One of the most important weapons being developed for use against the rural poor is "terminator technology". Terminator technology allows seed companies to sterilize new plant varieties, meaning that farmers will not be able to obtain healthy seeds for the following year at harvest. Instead, every year they will have to buy seeds from the corporations. Like most dominant technologies in this society, genetic engineering is an ecologically destructive, socially devastating weapon used by the elite in its continuing war of expansion against the wild and the world's poor. In this context it is handy to remember that Monsanto was the producer of Agent Orange, the chemical defoliant used by America in its war with the peasantry of Vietnam. It is no accident that Chiapas, home of the Zapatista rebels, is the first place where GM trees are being commercially grown.

Two hundred years ago the English elite was forced to construct its new technological weaponry – the factory system – in hostile territory. Night after night the Luddites of northern England laid waste to the technology they knew was aimed directly at the destruction of their communities. Two hundred years later the elite designs its new technological weapons thousands of miles from the people who will eventually feel the effects. Unable to reach and destroy the experiments themselves the peasantry is forced to rely on us to be the long arms of the Third World. We must make this territory hostile again.

Under the cover of the mass, masks and midnight we, the new Luddites, will continue to fight back in the land struggle that has never ended."

-from *Do or Die* #8, June 18, 1999

CIVILIZATION IS A TOXIC WATERMELON.

FORCE MAJEURE

Indigenous and Campesino Resistance

September 24:

Bolivia's Gas War Intensifies!

A new cycle of conflict has developed in Bolivia as workers; coca farmers, indigenous movements and other groupings of the dispossessed unite to prevent the sale of Bolivia's gas reserves to the United States through a Chilean port. At the time of this writing, Bolivia is in its tenth day of road blockades, with large-scale strikes and protests taking place around the country on Sept. 19. Confrontations with security forces and protesters during these manifestations resulted in seven confirmed deaths and over 25 injuries. In the city of Cochabamba, nearly ten thousand people took to the streets—a presence not seen since the “water wars” in April of 2000. Confrontations began in the town of Warisata, and state security forces began to indiscriminately fire on the protesting *campesinos*, while also randomly shooting into homes and schools. Some of the *campesinos* returned fire with their own weapons and with rocks.

October 10-13, 2003: Insurrection in Bolivia as President Steps Down!

From October 10-13, in the city of El Alto, a prolonged confrontation between protesters and state security forces resulted in 30 dead and over 100 injured, the great majority from bullet wounds. In the past 14 months, Bolivian security forces have killed more than 100 people: the largest number of deaths in that period of time in recent history, including the years the military dictatorship ruled the country. Faced with mounting discontent and growing violence in the streets, the government announced in mid-October that it would freeze negotiations for the sale of gas to Chile and consult the Bolivian public. But with all the

government repression in El Alto, this was not viewed as a credible announcement by the radicalized proletariat. Residents of El Alto described the offensive of terror unleashed by the Bolivian military as a “psychological war implemented from the North-American advisers”. In attempting to quell the spiraling conflict, the President got on TV and spoke of how “Bolivia is in danger and is being stalked by a huge subversive project from outside the nation, which is attempting to destroy Bolivian democracy.” He made further reference to a “union dictatorship” and promised to “repress seditious factors”, adding that the movement against him was “an attempted coup funded by the darkest interests in the world.” A public appearance by the “first lady” on October 12 further reflected the president's desperation. As the military continued to fire heavy ammunition into crowds of demonstrators, the First Lady read the bible aloud on the government TV station, begging the public to pray for Bolivia! But such pathetic rhetoric was no match for the mobilized wrath of the exploited, which has been on the ascent in Bolivia since 2000, fortifying its strength and clarifying its objectives. Against the violence of the State/Capital, the Bolivian exploited defended themselves with sticks, rocks, slingshots, dynamite and guns. There were several reports of home-made bombs being thrown at cops, and coca farmers from Young implemented one of the most long-lasting road blockades in October, stopping entirely the flow of fruits and vegetables to the capital. The iron resistance of the coca farmers has angered the US embassy, who will most likely try to punish the *cocaleros* for their growing radicalization and self-determination. (U.S. officials are already worried that Bolivia could become the



Bolivia: Guerrero por la defensa del gas con un molotov.

“Afghanistan of the Andes, a failed state that exports drugs and disorder.”) The government of President Quiroga was a corpse that continued to govern for a few more weeks thanks to the support of the American Embassy, but it was eventually brought down by the poorest, most rebellious and most dignified people of Bolivia, in a convulsed country with a great tradition of coups.

November 12, Santiago (Chile)

Masked university students set up blockades of burning tires outside their school in solidarity with an indigenous Mapuche youth who was assassinated by the police. When riot police vehicles showed up the students attacked them with Molotov cocktails.

December, Peru: Indigenous Threaten Armed Struggle Against Oil Companies

Peru's 6,000-strong Achuar tribe, who live in some of the most biodiverse land on earth, vowed to end plans by U.S.-based Burlington Resources Inc., and Occidental Petroleum to drill for oil on the Peru-Ecuador border. “We will not let them in. We will fight for our lives, we will lead an armed struggle with traditional weapons if need be,” Alberto Pizango, an Achuar tribal member, told a news conference. The Achuars say their rivers, crops and land have been ruined by lead and mercury deposits left from past oil work. Dozens of elderly Achuars have died this year from poisons that have leaked into ground water supplies. Burlington and Occidental won a contract with the Peruvian government in 1999 to exploit almost 2 million acres in the Loreto tropical rainforest region.

December 10: Battle Rages with Ecuador Indians over Jungle Oil

QUITO-In a steamy jungle of winding laurel trees and sprawling palms, a battle is raging between Ecuadorian

Indians trying to protect their traditional land and oil companies who want to drill in the Amazon. In the northern Amazon, Indians are suing an U.S. Oil Company over environmental damage they say ruined their land and made people sick. Further south, indigenous rebels have taken violent action to keep oil firms out of their home. Argentine oil company CGC and U.S. Burlington Resources Inc. have had government contracts to explore for crude oil for more than three years and neither has been able to drill a single well. Achar Indians have taken action against oil development by kidnapping workers and holding strong, rowdy demonstrations, saying they must protect the pristine forest where they've lived for decades. CGC, which won its contract in 1996, halted operations this year after more workers were kidnapped by Indian insurgents. Capitalist analysts say it will be tough for Ecuador to attract financial investment unless tensions are eased with indigenous communities, who make up nearly half the people in the Amazon.

“Hear me, people: We now have to deal with another race – small and feeble when our fathers first met them, but now great and overbearing. Strangely enough they have a mind to till the soil and the love of possessions is a disease with them. THESE PEOPLE HAVE MADE MANY RULES THAT THE RICH MAY BREAK BUT THE POOR MAY NOT. They take their tithes from the poor and weak to support the rich and those who rule. They claim this mother of ours, the earth, for their own and fence their neighbors away; they deface her with their buildings and their refuse. That nation is like a spring freshet that overruns its banks and destroys all who are in its path.”

- Tatanka Iyotake aka Sitting Bull
Hunkpapa Sioux, 1877



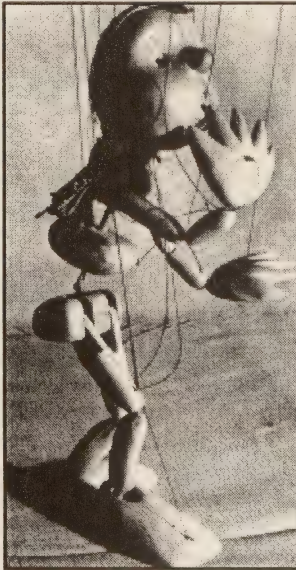
The October Revolution in Bolivia!

NOTES ON SUMMITS

GA Note: The following was written just before the summit of foreign ministers of the European Union at Riva del Garda, Italy, and the meeting of the World Trade Organization in Cancun, Mexico. Most of the GA Collective feels that there is much to be gained from this analysis of the methods of protest at these summits, and anarchist strategies in general.

The Illusion of a Center

Capitalism is a social relationship and not a citadel for the powerful. It is starting from this banality that one can confront the question of summits and counter-summits. Representing capitalist and state domination as a kind of general headquarters (it's a question of the G8, the WTO or some other such organization) is useful to those who would like to oppose that managing center with another center: the political structures of the so-called 'movement', or better, their spokespeople. In short, it is useful to those who propose merely a change in management personnel. Besides being reformist in essence and purpose, this logic becomes collaborationist and authoritarian in method, as it leads to centralization of the opposition. This is where the concern of these leftist adversaries, so anxious to make themselves heard by the "masters of the world", in investing money and political hype on the summits in which those in power



more and more frequently set the dates with them, comes from. In the course of these summits decisions that were made elsewhere are merely formalized, yet this certainly does not disturb the various representatives of the social forums; after all, their opposition is also completely formal, consisting mainly of paid seminars in which it is shown that neoliberalism is wrong and humanity is right, or, for the more lively, in some combative performance opportunely agreed upon with the police. The paradox is that people are called into the streets in the name of another possible world, but with the intention that *absolutely nothing happens*. Every time that a more or less oceanic crowd moves peacefully, visibly supervised, it is proclaimed to be a great victory for the movement. And yet these social pacifiers know quite well that their capacity to pose as negotiators with the institutions doesn't particularly depend upon the number of people that they lead into the streets (millions of demonstrators opposed to the latest military aggression against Iraq have not greatly worried the governments involved in the war), but rather upon the power of mediation and repression they manage to put into practice (or to justify) against all social rebellion.

In fact, if summits and counter-summits are so frequently talked about, if the representatives of the Social Forums have come together at the negotiation table and been flattered by the mass media, it is only because, in Seattle first and later on other occasions, something happened:

thousands of comrades and poor youth attacked the structures of capital and the state, upset police city planning schemes by opening up spaces for communication, and clashed with the uniformed servants. Without this subversive threat—together with the many insurrectional explosions that have shaken up the last few years, a mark of the times we have entered—the masters would have nothing to do with the various Casarinis and Agnolettos (1). Hasn't something of this sort happened with the unions? Listened to and bribed by capital in times of great social conflict with the aim of dividing, demoralizing and denouncing revolting proletarians, in more recent times, they have been put in storage. For the time being, they are forced to again raise a loud voice against the very attacks of the bosses that they themselves once justified and ratified.

The "Disobbedienti" spokespeople must then distinguish themselves from the bad ones, the extremists, the violent ones (i.e., those who practice direct action) and give political visibility to the others. On the one hand, therefore, the slogans of the Social Forums end up being perfectly suitable for the enlightened bourgeoisie: taxation of finance capital, democratic and transparent regulation over global trade, more state and less market, critical consumption, ethical banks, pacifism, etc. On the other hand, what they sell with their "democratic mobilizations" is a valuable commodity: the illusion of doing something against the injustices of the world. In this sense, counter-summits are a juicy spectacle. The bad few repressed and the good ones heard in their just demands: end of story?

Power knows that it isn't so simple. The disgustingly realistic proposals of the domesticated opposition have nothing to say to the millions of poor people parked in the reservations of the market paradise and repressed by the police. There was a bit of confirmation in Genoa: only during the clashes and the looting of supermarkets did the youths from proletarian neighborhoods unite with the insurgents. While the White Overalls with their festivals appeared as Martians or buffoons in their eyes, those excluded from every political racket immediately understood the language of revolt.

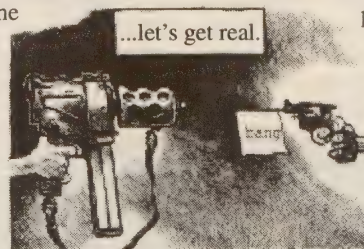
A Gust of Unpredictability

There is no doubt that in Seattle and Genoa, and again more recently in Thessaloniki, a critique without mediation against domination and its false enemies was demonstrated. Despite the dates being set by the masters, the direction by reformists in the streets was leapt over. We mention this, even though we were among those comrades who maintained that Genoa is everywhere: that if domination and dispossession are in every part of society and in daily life, attack has no need for dates set by the enemy. We have found the practice of those who, deserting the stage of the "red zone" and the trap of frontal clashes with the police, moved with agility, striking and disappearing (notably, in this sense, the attack on the Marassi prison in Genoa). This powerful gust of unpredictability, this subversive 'federalism' of actions and groups, signified an important rupture with the logic of those who centralize the enemy in order to centralize the struggle (and render it symbolic). But we still hold that being in the place where the enemy does not expect you, far from the appointments, is the best perspective. Even in their most interesting aspects, counter-summits limit this perspective. Besides, without taking anything away from the explosions in Seattle and Genoa, it seems to us that chasing after such dates is becoming a cliché, and more, a devourer of energy: as soon as one counter-summit ends, preparation for another begins.

The dates are fixed more and more by the mass media, to the point that, as many revolutionaries have demonstrated, for example, against the war in Iraq, almost no one has managed to express any practical solidarity with the insurgents

of Argentina or Algeria. Often more importance is ascribed to clashes that involve almost exclusively "militants" as compared to authentic social and class uprisings.

We know very well why many comrades go to counter-summits: widespread direct action



AND COUNTER-SUMMITS

and the generalized clash with the cops is only possible in mass situations. Since the perspective of attacking elsewhere is extremely minoritarian, only in greatly expanded situations can a certain sort of street guerrilla warfare be tested. Other actions can be realized at any moment that are not in any way incompatible with certain practices in the streets during counter-summits. And yet we think that in the long run, such a practice limits autonomy of analysis and action (in the face of how many social conflicts have we just stood there looking?), transforming it in spite of itself into a sort of extremist model within the "disobedient" caravan. Not to mention that it would still be a matter of asking why on earth power publicizes so many summits in which decisions that have already been made are ratified?

All this seems to us to be a great terrain for the police to study and experiment with anti-riot techniques. A kind of homeopathic treatment: power is inoculated with tiny doses of the virus of subversion in order to reinforce its immune system in view of much broader social plagues. It must know how the bad ones move and organize themselves, and with which good ones it is possible to dialogue in such a way that nothing really changes.

An Experiment in the Open Air

But above all, summits constitute another form of experimentation: seeing what level of oppression the population is willing to put up with. Bringing a bit of Palestine, with its checkpoints, its permanent red zones and its armored patrol cars around every corner, into the "rich West", domination is informing its subjects that, until proven otherwise, they are criminals; that nothing is secure enough for the police and technological apparatus; that city planning is the continuation of the social war with other weapons. More than sixty years ago, Walter Benjamin wrote in his *Theses on the Concept of History* that "the state of exception in which we live has become the rule". If this is true, we must understand what links a lager for undocumented immigrants to the stadiums into which war refugees are loaded, certain poor and working-class neighborhoods patrolled by the police to the various Guantánamos scattered throughout the world, some evacuation operations utterly disproportionate in relation to the declared aim (entire neighborhoods evacuated in order to defuse some implement from the first World

War) to the rationing of electrical energy carried out without warning. Up to now it is a question of successful experiments that confirm what a comrade wrote in the 1970's: *the people of capital are a stoic people. They upset traffic circulation, they put surveillance cameras everywhere, they install noxious antennas over the roofs of our homes, they criminalize more and more behaviors: no one says a word.*

Summits are the concentrated representation of all this, the legal suspension of every right.

"What's going on?" the average citizen asks, forced to take a detour in order to go shopping. "Nothing, it's just the anti-globalization people," the woman at the supermarket responds. Meanwhile, they are even privatizing the drinking water, while the police are everywhere.

But precisely because it is a concentrated representation of a daily situation, the practical critique must be widespread and constant, for example through the destruction of video cameras and other systems of electronic surveillance. It is important to map out the locations of the instruments of control, spreading awareness of them and theoretically supporting the necessity of attacking them.

The New Face of Domination

Power is increasingly brazen. On the one hand, the masters know that the current social conditions, increasingly marked by precariousness and dependence on commodities, can be imposed only through terror. Such terror is manifested in the exterior, in the form of war, and in the

been done to prevent the preceding ones, an incredible acceleration of degradation— have given power an arrogance without precedence. We have seen it at work, for example, in Genoa, in the beatings, the torture, the murder of Carlo Giuliani. And it continues. The new police chief of Trento is Colucci, police chief in Genoa during the G8 summit, a certified pig. He will be managing the summit of foreign ministers of the European Union that will be held at Riva del Garda this September. Do you understand the message? A Trento committee "for truth and justice" has found nothing better to do than to invite him to a public confrontation.

Acid Rain and Fig Leaves

The foreign ministers who will be meeting in Riva in early-September must achieve a common platform to present at the WTO summit in Cancun, Mexico in mid-September. The topic is the General Agreement on the Trade of Services (GATS) that anticipates precisely the liberalization of the principal "public services" on a global level. Among the many decisions in process, the most scandalous is surely that of the privatization of water, which may become a reality for the 144 member countries of the World Trade Organization. It is a process that started a while ago, since seven multinationals have contended for decades over the concession for bottling mineral water, and in the last few years, over the concession for managing the water system as well. The "Trento board for a social Europe" also dwells upon the privatization of water, and on its scarcity due to pollution, as the mark of the most unbridled neoliberalism. Apart from the usual complaints about the non-democratic aspects of these agreements (as if those made by individual governments were instead subject to who knows what public debates), what is equally scandalous in the discourse of the reformists is the gap between the amplitude of the disasters that they denounce and the solutions that they propose.

On the one hand, they indicate the causes of these disasters to be the industrialization of agriculture, the concentration of populations in increasingly gigantic cities, the pollution produced by factories, the waste of drinkable water for industrial machinery and for cultivation intended for the intensive breeding of animals; in short, the very essence of the techno-industrial system. On the other hand, they propose: new laws, transparent rules, even citizen participation in the form of short-term treasury bonds in the S.P.A.'s (2) that privatize water.

(continued on next page)



interior, in the form of fear for the future (for example, fear of remaining without work) or through the increasingly widespread repression of social groups. On the other hand, decades of social pacification — in which every despicable act has occurred simply because nothing has

Thanks to the marvels of progress, there are whole countries in which a collapse of the banking system would leave the countryside without water, and these citizens, so proud of being so, want different laws. Somewhat as if, in the face of a downpour of acid rain, one were to suggest covering the head of children with an organic fig leaf. The proposals of the various Social Forums, reasonable in terms of political and economic rationality, are simply crazy from a concrete and social point of view. It is not a question of denouncing a world in ruins, but rather of snatching the space for resisting and the time for attacking. It is not just a question of how radical one is in the streets. The point is what sort of life one desires, how much one has submitted her or himself materially and spiritually to an increasingly inhuman and artificial social order or, on the other hand, what relationships one is ready to fight for.

There is no need to go to Riva to oppose the water racket. Those directly responsible for this absolute commodification (for example, the big businesses that bottle mineral water) are just a few steps away from us at all times. If the civilized can't even defend the water they drink—or at least understand that others do so in a clear and direct way—we can all just go to bed. In this case as well, it is a long chain of dependence and oppression that now presents us with an exorbitant bill. Only through autonomy toward industrial mass society and through open revolt against the state that defends it could something different be born.

The same is valid, for example, for the question of patents, including those on the genetic code. It is simply idiotic to claim protective laws are of any use in confronting the entry of capital into the human body. Techno-scientific delirium, which consists of wanting to transform nature and human beings into a sort of variable of the computer, passed the point of no return some time ago. Any illusion of reforming a science that is entirely in the service of power is only a dismal hoax. The actions that have happened in most countries against transgenic cultivation or against private and state laboratories that experiment on the human genome have shown quite well that the critique of mercantile reason has no need of spectacular dates.

More generally, what is euphemistically described as globalization would be unthinkable without the material basis furnished by the technological apparatus. We simply think about the things that are presented as principle factors in development and economic and military conflict: energy and information. This thing that can appear to be an unassailable Moloch is in reality a gigantic web formed by cables, antennae, substations, trellises and transformers that can be easily struck.

Riva Is Everywhere

The CGIL will be taking care of monitoring during the counter-summit in Riva. The outgoing police chief of Trento has pointed out “rightly” that the more demonstrators make themselves into police agents, the less need there will be of the latter.

After long negotiations between the Social Forum and the police force (managed obviously by national leaders), it seems that the Municipality will make a villa outside of Riva available to the *Disobbediente* and their associates, granting them the right to demonstrate (always outside of town, in deserted streets) through Sunday. Riva will be closed, which means that the cops will simply block three access roads. The police want empty streets; the population must understand that Big Brother is not just a televised transmission. And us?

Let's again take up a thread that comes from far away. Gunther Anders wrote in the 1950's, “Hiroshima is everywhere”, and in the 1980's, “Chernobyl is everywhere”. Some rebels against the technologized world in the 1990's said, “Mururoa is everywhere” (at the time when the French government subjected that island in the Pacific to murderous nuclear tests). Two years ago, other comrades claimed, “Genoa is everywhere”. Because revolt explodes without limits, because the Apparatus expects an enemy that is not there and reveals its totalitarian character still more, we say *Riva is everywhere*. We will not be in the streets against the summit of the European Union, because with the struggles of these times and those that will be, we have wanted and still want to strike other paths. Because following the logic that “This time it is close to my home” one does not escape the circle, since summits will always occur close to someone's home. Because the real conflict is elsewhere. There are other ways to oppose the armoring of the cities and the valleys in which we live, ways within everyone's reach. We want to free ourselves from the dictatorship of the number and from its worshipers. We know this is a perspective that may only give few results in the immediate, but it is by deciding for ourselves how, where and when to strike and tenaciously defending our reasons for it that we will cause individual and social insubordination to advance.

— Some Rovereton (Italy) Anarchists

1: Casarini and Agnoletto are spokespeople of groups behind the Social Forums.

2: Action associations similar to PACs in the US. (translator)



Response to Our Rovereto Comrades by John Zerzan

In 2001, many insurrectionalist anarchists of Italy skipped the G-8 summit in Genoa. This struck many as regrettable and even mystifying, especially so in hindsight, since the burnt banks of Genoa marked a high point of public resistance to anti-globalization, a powerful shock wave against the First World powers. In this piece the insurrectionalists announce that they won't be present at the Riva summit either.

My first response, frankly, was to take their statement as a cop-out. And yet this article presents some important and challenging questions. Here in the U.S., after the unequal contest in Miami, it may be time to re-assess our assumptions about the calendar of mass protest efforts.

From anti-WTO Seattle at the end of 1999 to Genoa in July 2001, a rising tide of increasingly militant protests challenged the prerogatives of corporate and governmental power. Summit meetings had to be moved to places like Qatar and the remote Canadian Rockies to avoid the wrath of people in the streets. (Well, the wrath of some of them. Most remained content to parade their unwillingness to fight.)

And then came September 11, 2001; and since then, we have largely lost the offensive in terms of demos. The visible specter of “terrorism” has succeeded in changing the subject and making people fearful. It has also, of course, given State power a green light to further militarize police agencies and provide brutal force against militants and others, and not only at demonstrations.

There are many things to do beside Black Bloc actions at summit meetings. No doubt our Rovereto friends are busy elsewhere and address alternatives in other writings.

And yet many of us feel that public expressions of fighting solidarity are inspiring to our movement and should not be abandoned lightly. Is it acceptable to allow our global masters to convene their banquets of power without a challenge? People will very likely continue to contest those places; should we simply leave them to their fate?

Cancun was, overall, a success; Miami was not. 2004 should be a time for us to become more creative if we are to continue to engage in staged confrontations. Anti-war folks in San Francisco in March '03 were able to take a lot of the “staged” or predictably choreographed aspect out of their effort. Via decentralized and highly mobile tactics, blocking major streets, freeway entrances/exits and the like, SF was shut down. For at least a day or two, the anti-war forces were extremely effective; the police publicly admitted their helplessness in the face of such determined new tactics.

I hope that we can rise to the challenge and learn from what may not be working, rather than give up this or any other arena of contestation to our enemies.

RIDING THE HIGH OF CANCUN AND THE DANGERS OF A CRASH

An Open Letter to the Direct Action participants
at the FTAA protest in Miami

BY BLACKBEARD

"Because something is happening, but you don't know what it is...Do you, Mr. Jones?" - Bob Dylan

GA Note: The following was written by a participant in the WTO protests in Cancun, Mexico, as an analysis of that event, and a warning to those planning on going to the FTAA protests in Miami. It is a thorough critique of the authoritarian nature of some of these events' "organizers" and some of the shortcomings of the anti-globalization movement.

The buzz around the FTAA protests in Miami is certainly encouraging. Many of us have not felt this level of anticipation in North America since before the (cancelled) protests against the IMF/World Bank in September, 2001. That, of course, was when our movement scattered, along with the rest of the nation, in the astounding blaze of September 11. But it appears that two years later we have finally recovered, and the new wave of optimism and momentum certainly owes much to the spectacular effect of the WTO protests in Cancun two months ago. Images and video of the triple-fortified fence being pulled down, by a coalition of indigenous women, Koreans, campesinos, anarchists, and other internationals, have spread across the world like wildfire and rekindled old flames. The WTO was shut down again, but this time it was due to a concerted effort of diverse, radical communities, inside and outside of the summit, saying together that truly, another world is possible.

However, those of us who experienced the dismantling of the fence first-hand know that it was not all ropes and bolt cutters and solidarity. On the streets, the dynamics between these groups was much more complicated. The action as a whole was highly controversial, particularly among the participants, and many walked away from the event feeling disappointed, or even worse, manipulated. Sadly, this is a story that is rarely heard about the actions in Cancun. The version that has triumphed in most activist circles is at best a sanitized one, as conveyed in the romantic narrative *Kilometer Zero*.

At first I felt frustrated that the more complicated story was not being told in my community, at the various screenings and Cancun-debriefing meetings I attended. My frustration grew to anger, and then finally resignation. It began to seem that I was the only one who felt that the stories being told about Cancun were glossing over a number of more difficult experiences. I decided that perhaps, in the end, it did not really matter so much what people thought had happened there. It was good that people were feeling inspired, and I was glad that this energy might carry over into a successful action in Miami.

More recently, however, I have learned that several people in my community, particularly those who participated in the Black Bloc in Cancun, have adamantly chosen not to go to Miami. Many did not accept the resignation I did, and retain a strong sense of anger about what happened, in particular, concerning the action at the fence. Some of us recently began discussing this again, exchanging our experiences and disappointments that we had allowed to go unexpressed for too long. We talked about how the basically centralized decision-making processes

that had emerged in Cancun had carried over into our own community, and that much of what was being discussed about Miami seemed to suggest a possible replay. The main difference is that this replay would likely be a bloodier one.

MY EXPERIENCE OF CANCUN

I came to Cancun as part of a three-person affinity group consisting of myself and two women. We participated as part of the International Black Bloc (as distinguished from the Mexican Black Bloc), and eventually clustered with others we met at the convergence spaces. Our initial experience was that there was a heavy atmosphere of paranoia and suspicion among the activists present. There were meetings happening constantly, among, supposedly, the Koreans, the campesinos, the Black Blocs, and other affinity groups. While my affinity group was able to send spokespersons to some of the earlier meetings, especially between the Blocs, a number of rather confusing things began taking place as the major actions planned for Saturday approached.

Meetings were called and their locations changed at the last moment. For some reason, this change of information rarely seemed to make it to the Black Bloc spokespersons in time. These changes were made by unknown persons for reasons of "security." Then, the number of allowed participants in the meetings began to dwindle, such that entire affinity groups began to be excluded from the increasingly secretive, centralized meetings. Members of the Mexican Bloc began complaining that the "representatives" for Via Campesino appearing at the meetings were people they had never seen before. Rumors began circulating among some of us that the meetings had been infiltrated by remnants of the PRI. Especially for internationals like us, working well beyond our elements, these accusations could neither be confirmed nor satisfyingly dispelled.

When the Blocs came together on Saturday, one thing was certain: we had no clue what was going to happen, nor what had been planned. There had been talk of a very early morning meeting that, for some reason, had never been communicated to any members of the Black Bloc; however, the "consensus" that emerged from that meeting was. For many of us, including the two women in my affinity group, it was not until the march to the fence was well underway that we first heard of the "women's action." My female comrades were rather forcefully coerced to participate in the action. When they raised objections, a high-profile organizer told them that this had been consensually agreed upon, and since they had not been present at the meeting they had no room to argue.

It was not that they or I were fundamentally opposed to the action. It was highly problematic, however, that on a moment's notice, I no longer had an affinity group. I joined with the other men in holding the perimeter, which initially had nothing to do with running security for an action but merely defending our own space against, in particular, the group of Maoists marching just behind us. (continued on next page)



There was much debate at the fence concerning the all-women's space, both among the women, and between women and men. As exhaustion began to set in after more than an hour of cutting, some women began asking for male members of their affinity group to join the space. For various reasons, this never happened. The complicating factor in this, of course, was that most of us had not prepared for this dynamic, had not discussed it beforehand, and therefore were rather divided as to how to deal with the issues that arose.

I'm not sure how it happened that the Black Bloc formed the perimeter around the Koreans, campesinos and others who tied the ropes to the fence and pulled it down. I do know that many of us were uncomfortable about it, redolent as it was to the role of police officers. Although many people are under the impression that the dismantling was a highly cooperative element including many groups, the scene I experienced was much different from this. What I witnessed was a strict division between the "actors" and the "spectators," and the vast majority of the demonstrators present filled the latter role. This was not because of laziness or fear, but because, quite frankly, they were not allowed to participate. And what makes this even more startling is that it was the Black Bloc that held the boundaries of this exclusion.

I don't think it's inaccurate to put forward the assumption that many others and I held at the time, which is that once the fence was dismantled the battle would begin. And furthermore, that at this time, the perimeter would dissolve, and all would participate. I wonder how many people who have seen *Kilometer Zero* ask the question: "So what happened after the fence came down?" My guess is a lot. The fact that this is rarely addressed is somewhat troubling to me.

What happened is this. Many members of the Black Blocs, campesinos, and other militants armed themselves with sticks and other weapons and prepared to confront the police that filled the gap. In *Kilometer Zero*, when you see everyone chanting "Lee! Lee," this was done in direct response to a woman's assertion on a megaphone that there would be no confrontation, that this was a "nonviolent action." From my perspective, the chant was a much louder response to her artificially amplified voice, communicating that we were prepared to fight. However, many of us made the mistake of internalizing the authority of the megaphone, and chose not to defy the "orders" we were given: to sit down and listen to speeches. Two effigies of the WTO were burned, and then everyone went home. This is how the action at the fence became a "symbolic" one.

COMMENTS, ANALYSIS AND WARNINGS

I believe it is critical at this juncture to remember the roots of this movement, which are deeply embedded in the anarchist principles of decentralization and non-hierarchical decision-making. As the movement grows, and certain individuals through various means gain heightened visibility, we must constantly struggle ever more diligently to stick to our values and not play the much easier game of follow-the-leaders. The current Collective Book on Collectives' Process project that can be found online provides a highly relevant piece on "power sharing" [www.geocities.com/collectivebook/power.html]. I think everyone interested in building a nonhierarchical movement should read it. It describes the subtle processes by which a core group of individuals can manage to seize control, intentionally or not, within antiauthoritarian communities.

I encourage everyone to do this exercise. When you think of the term "the major organizers," who comes to mind? My guess is that if we all did this exercise together, across the United States, we would come up with a lot of the same names. I think we should be extremely wary of this.

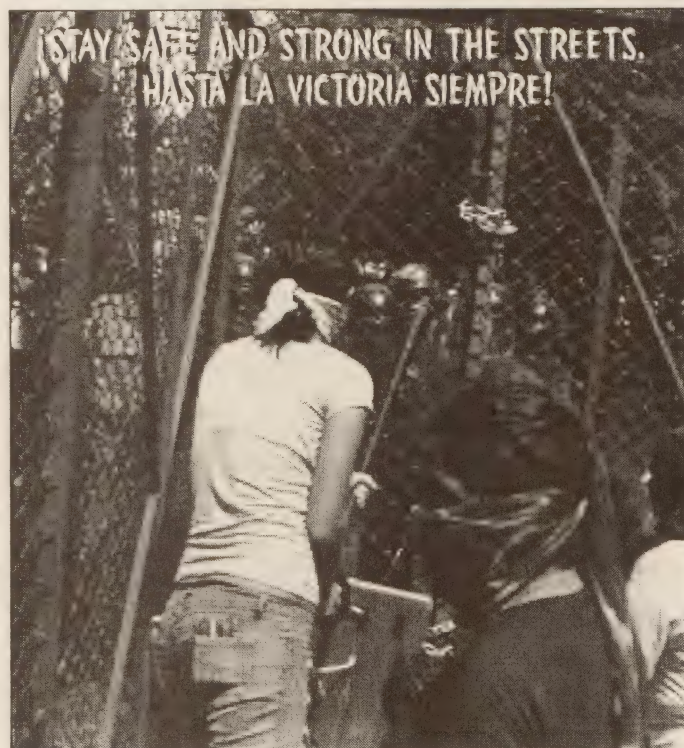
If we forget that we are all organizers in this movement, that we are all leaders, then the most precious values we hold in common will be lost. The better world we are trying to create will escape our hearts and we will find ourselves defeated before we have even begun to fight.

It appears to me that the action in Miami on the 20th is a centralized one. No matter how many individuals or groups have been involved in its planning, the fact remains that a dynamic has been established in which the majority of the people who arrive that day will be coming as spectators or at best, hopeful participants. But they will not be organizers.

The beauty of decentralized action is that everyone works simultaneously as an organizer and a participant. This is not only incredibly empowering, but it also makes the work of the police exponentially more difficult. No matter how creative the plans for Miami's actions may be, it is still the meeting of two armies: theirs and ours. Most resistance fighters throughout the world have learned that, when you're up against the U.S. Empire, you cannot win on a level battlefield. We, too, must learn the principles of guerilla warfare if we ever intend to win. With this comes both greater responsibility and personal involvement. It is easy to "plug into" an action that others have planned for you. It is much more difficult to plan a small action amongst yourself and a few people you know and trust.

It should also be emphasized that, within our communities, no power has been taken from us that we have not also given away. It is not only that I fear the loss of our principles, but also that I feel centralized decision-making is leading people into a potentially highly dangerous situation in Miami. Many people are on a vicarious high from Cancun, and I think, are rather naive about what they are going to encounter in Miami. The police in Mexico were restrained to an unprecedented degree. Those of us who remember the RNC in Philly know that the situation in Florida will be nothing like that. Anyone participating in a centralized action should expect heavy abuse and, most likely, arrest. There is, in my opinion, no reason to believe the myth of "the safety of numbers."

Despite the warnings given by myself and others, I believe that most people will commit themselves to the centralized actions. As unpopular as it may be to say so, I will give my honest opinion that these actions will be devastatingly defeated. Many people will get hurt. I hope I am wrong. But if I am right, I hope that we can learn from this experience and begin to critique these styles of actions and begin to take on more personal responsibility and self-organizing. There is, of course, a whole other critique of mass actions in general that I will not go into. But I will say this: We ARE everywhere, and so are capitalist structures. We are all organizers, participants, and fighters. Once we begin to act like it, it is only a matter of time before the dream we share will be accomplished.



UNDER THE PALMS OF MIAMI

...THIS SEASON'S #1 TOURIST TRAP! by E. Lou Civ

To quote a reply about a Miami report on infosop.org:

"On Thursday, November 20th, the Michael Jackson scandal broke...terrorists bombed a British consulate in Istanbul...massive protests were held in London for (G)W's visit to Britain. So in the greater scheme of events for that single day, the FTAA protests in Miami were a sidethought to the corporate media and to most people who find out about the world – most Americans – via corporate media. This doesn't mean that nothing happened in Miami. It just means that nothing extraordinary happened in Miami."

On November 20th, a handful of anarchists (and a couple "workers"), no doubt inspired by or trying to repeat Cancun, attempted to tear down the fence which separated the protesters from the meetings, but without sufficient support and motivation, they didn't get far. There was also a brief battle with cops when people finally retaliated after being repeatedly attacked – throwing paint, teargas canisters, and rocks at the pigs. Some people made barricades from wood pallets and then set them on fire. Mostly, however, acts of resistance were minimal and people were generally unsuccessful in making much happen. This is only the latest defeat for anti-globalization activists and anarchists in the U.S. Some may remember early summer when a similar dynamic (only on a smaller scale) took place in Sacramento. So what was the point? Why were anarchists mobilizing? What did they hope to achieve? Some wonder if people even asked themselves these questions before going to these events. It seemed more out of habit and obligation, then a desire for true revolt, that people went to Miami and Sacramento.

It is time for anarchists to take a hard look at the motions we seem to be going through. Why do we continue to fight on their terms? Can anarchists still play a role at summits in the U.S.? Can these events move into insurrectional moments which go beyond the limited and single focus of yet another institution of capital? Possibly, but only if we are better prepared and more strategic. Some people spend months getting together, planning for one day

events which have recently (in the U.S. at least) turned out to be demoralizing encounters at the hands of well-funded and militarized robo-pigs. Often peoples' preparations do not get beyond how to deal with the media (or if to even deal with them



in any other way than open hostility), which groups they will work with, the message they want to portray, and vague tactical ideas. In preparation for Miami, numerous "consultas" occurred throughout the country to discuss tactics and strategy, but what came from this? ...a week-long (or weak and long) puppet march, an eco-block (concerned "citizens" worried about the "environment" who wore green), your usual assortment of leftists and liberals wanting to control the "protest", some people from the global south (probably the most interesting and the most affected by the policies of the FTAA), a padded block (which was made up of a variety of "non-violent" activists who wanted to push themselves a little further than just sitting down and getting beaten) who barely showed up after the police declared helmets and padding illegal, and very unprepared militants (most of whom were not disguised or masked, thus severely limiting the possibility of illegal action, or at least getting away with it). So the outcome was a disaster. People got pushed around, corralled, gassed, shot at, beaten, and arrested...and for what? So the media could portray them as either whiny hippies or terrorists?

At this point in time, many of us are stressing the need to reconsider our strategy, or at a minimum, to be strategic! Most of us have

never looked to these summits as the end-all of action, but instead one element of resistance, which also includes the proliferation of ideas, community self-reliance and self-defense, the instigation of insurrectional moments, economic sabotage, infrastructural attacks, and more. We must fight in all realms, but if

you are going to step into their arena, you must be prepared to either fight or elude your enemy. Being prepared to fight is a major proposition and requires physical, mental, and tactical readiness. It is no joke. If you want to be a tourist, pick a location that is not a temporary police state. Four years ago, in Seattle, we had the element of surprise, and still anarchists were formed into tight affinity groups and prepared for action. That was then.

At this point, we will not be able to startle the pigs at these events (they know we are coming, and what we will most likely do), so we need to be far more prepared and infinitely more creative. One might consider attacking targets which are not where all the pigs are, perhaps in a variety of locations throughout that city, or in other cities. Why not take advantage of the fact that most law enforcement for the surrounding counties (and in some cases, states) are mobilized in one ten-block radius? By maintaining our autonomy and not getting sucked into the "mass" approach to street resistance, many new possibilities open up. By roving like autonomous gangs who are not tied into one another for action or survival, yet open to joining together at times for strength, much is possible. The bottom line, again, if you are going into conflict with a larger and more powerful enemy, hesitation can be deadly, or at least incarcerating. As the saying goes, "...strike fast, strike hard, and don't get caught!" To do this, a tight affinity group is essential, one that can quickly and effectively adapt and change directions and plans without becoming confused and sloppy. There is still a need for anarchists at these summits, and that is, as our Greek comrades say, "...to make total destroy!" But only if we are looking to succeed, not merely as a symbolic protest accompaniment to their institutions (however militant it may appear on the surface).

"The Time is Right!"

Anarchist Resistance from Around the World

September 26, Greece:

Molotov Attacks Against the Iraqi War and Occupation

Thessaloniki – Unidentified assailants threw Molotov cocktail bombs at a National Bank branch before launching another two at a nearby branch of McDonald's. The first bomb caused minor damage to the bank's ATM while the second two sparked a fire in the McDonald's branch. These actions were carried out in opposition to the U.S. war in Iraq.

Late September, Spain:

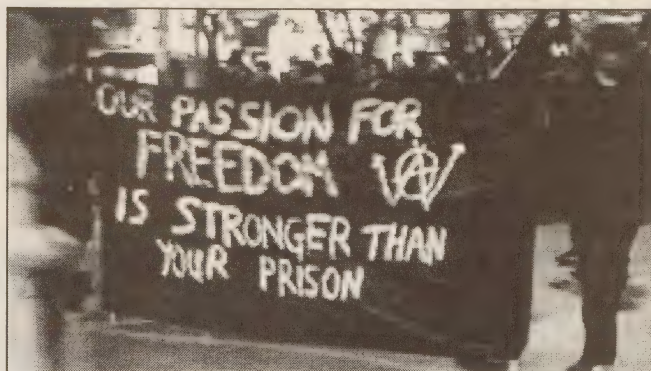
Madrid Parcel Bomb Linked with June Thessaloniki Riots

A small parcel bomb was found in the Greek consulate in Madrid but failed to explode. Spanish police claim the device was sent by local anarchists in retaliation for the arrest of several Spanish anarchists during June's anti-globalization riots in Thessaloniki, Greece. The bomb, which was concealed in a book mailed to the consulate, contained a small quantity of gunpowder and a detonator. Consulate employees treated the parcel as suspicious and called the police, who sent in a bomb squad to remove and detonate the device. Nobody has claimed responsibility for the attack, although the bomb was said to have been sent from a Barcelona bookshop. Two Spaniards were among the 29 anarchists and anti-globalization dissidents arrested after the June 21 riots during the EU summit in Halkidiki that caused over a million euros in damage to Thessaloniki shops, banks and cars.

September 30-October 1:

Anarchist Arson Attacks in Greece

Athens – Cooking gas canisters were used to set fire to two political party offices and the homes of a conservative politician and a university professor – Giorgos Veltos – who is a close friend of Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis. A previously unknown anarchist group calling itself "Post-Midnight Slalom" said it set the fires to protest corporate influence on next summer's Olympics and the arrest in June of several rioters during the European Union summit in Thessaloniki. The group said it was



also protesting the trial of members of the armed leftist November 17 Revolutionary Organization. "For as long as you're going to be burning forests, we're going to be burning your offices," said the statement released to the Athens daily newspaper, *Eleftherotypia*. "For as long as you're going to be burning brains, we're going to be burning your houses."

One of the incendiary propane tanks used by the group burned the home of Giorgos Voulgarakis, a conservative lawmaker. He was not at home and firefighters rescued his wife and four children. The fires also damaged several cars. All told, the "Post-Midnight Slalom" (which defined itself as "a society of workers for a social uprising") took responsibility for five firebomb attacks targeting politicians and public figures in central Athens in a two-day period of time. In the proclamation it dumped in an Athens rubbish bin, "Post-Midnight Slalom" attacked the 2004 Olympics for being "a whore of multinational companies, addressed to doped-up robots." The group also demanded that Spain release five suspected members of a Barcelona anarchist cell held in connection with a parcel-bomb attack on the Greek consulate in Madrid. The arson spree of "Post-Midnight Slalom" targeted two Pasok offices and one belonging to New Democracy, two of the most powerful and firmly entrenched political parties in Greece.

October 6, Oristano (Italy):

A fire was set at a municipal police office, destroying files and a computer.

October 11, Switzerland:

Anarchists and Squatters Fight Riot Police!

Zurich—More than 600 people (squatters, anarchists, and others) fought with riot police after an unauthorized "Reclaim the Streets" demonstration. Riot police fired tear gas and rubber bullets. The rioters responded by throwing rocks. One cop suffered a leg injury from a stone projectile and was hospitalized. Police chased people through the streets of the city and the rebel demonstrators dragged dumpsters into the street, set their barricades on fire and pelted the police with stones. Police continued to use tear gas and the rebels attacked store windows and vehicles, causing 80,000 Francs in damage. Only 5 people were arrested.

October 23, Milan (Italy):

101 security cameras were attacked throughout the city.

October 24, Burgos (Spain):

The locks of three police commissions and a court building in Burgos, Spain, were glued shut, in solidarity with imprisoned anarchists in Spain and Greece. We know that this action will not free our kidnapped comrades but it nonetheless contributes to the diffusion of sabotage, an optimal method within reach of all the excluded, demonstrating that it is possible to attack the visible structures of repression throughout the social territories.

Early-November, Spain:

Early morning commuters in Barcelona found 70 subway entrances

"WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CAPITALIST RESTRUCTURING AT A WORLD LEVEL TODAY, TELLS US THAT THERE IS NO OTHER WAY OPEN TO ANARCHISTS THAN THAT OF IMMEDIATE, DESTRUCTIVE INTERVENTION. THAT IS WHY WE ARE INSURRECTIONISTS, WHY WE ARE AGAINST IDEOLOGY AND CHATTER. THAT IS WHY WE ARE AGAINST ANY IDEOLOGY OF ANARCHISM, AND ALL CHATTER ABOUT ANARCHISM. THE TIME FOR SMALL TALK IS OVER."

-ALFREDO BONANNO

nailed shut by anti-globalization rebels. Pamphlets were left at the sealed subway stops throughout the metropolitan area demanding the release of the Thessaloniki Seven. Two local youths were arrested in connection with this action.

November 4, Rome (Italy):

Two explosive devices went off inside police stations. One was defused but the other wounded a police marshal's hand. The Italian Minister of the Interior, Beppe Pisanu, made comments in parliament warning of the growing danger of insurrectionary anarchism in Italy, specifically stating that the informal method of organization used by the insurrectionary anarchists makes them more dangerous than the traditional anarchists.

November 6, Athens and Thessaloniki (Greece):

Anarchists bombed three banks in solidarity with the Thessaloniki 7 in Athens, and to oppose the visit of FBI chief Robert Mueller, who was in Greece to inspect security for the upcoming Olympics. Nobody was hurt, but the banks, particularly Eurobank, suffered considerable damage. Simultaneously, 1,500 people attended an anarchist demonstration. In Thessaloniki a bank and a Public Works Ministry car were also bombed in solidarity with the Thessaloniki 7. The blasts on November 6 bring to over 25 the total number of firebomb attacks on banks and other buildings in Athens and Thessaloniki since the arrests of the Thessaloniki 7.

ANARCHY: AN AFFIRMATION OF FREEDOM SO RECKLESS AND UNQUALIFIED THAT IT AMOUNTS TO A TOTAL DENIAL OF EVERY KIND OF RESTRAINT AND LIMITATION

November 6, Quebec City (Canada): Hundreds of students and anarchists broke through barricades, clashed with riot police, spray-painted anarchist graffiti and started fires on the Quebec Legislature grounds. Police fired tear gas and the crowd threw objects at the police. The students were fighting against rising tuition fees.

November 10, Thessaloniki (Greece): A PASOK (the governing "socialist" party in Greece) building was attacked with a Molotov firebomb.

November 14, Greece: Anarchists across Greece staged a number of solidarity actions for the Thessaloniki 7, anarchist prisoners from the June European Union summit riots, five of whom have been on hunger strike for more than a month and are in the hospital. Approximately fifty anarchists in the city of Thessaloniki, after having occupied the offices of the ruling government party, left the building and were attacked by the police.

Anarchists were beaten and sprayed with gas by the pigs. In Athens five banks and an office of the conservative New Democracy party were firebombed (a group calling itself Revolutionary Solidarity took responsibility for this action). In the city of Xanthi, comrades occupied the University department and a municipal radio.

November 17, Greece:

Annual Polytechnic Riots!

Riot squads fired tear gas to disperse groups of anarchists who threw petrol bombs and rocks at police guarding the U.S. embassy in Athens, during an annual rally held each year in protest of the vital support that Washington, D.C. gave to the military dictatorship that ruled Greece from 1967-74. In Athens, several hundred anarchists smashed dozens of storefronts and firebombed two banks. Police fired tear gas at the hooded rioters, who set fire to rubbish bins as they fled. The clashes in Athens occurred despite an enormous security

operation that involved more than 7,000 police and riot officers, including helicopters and snipers on roofs. Despite state officials' declarations of "zero tolerance", many young people didn't surrender to fear and joined the anarchist demo, spraypainting the walls of Athens with slogans against the Olympic games and in solidarity with the Thessaloniki 7. In Thessaloniki, riots occurred in the area of the universities, with demonstrators throwing Molotov cocktails at the police. In the city of Heraklion, 300 comrades in the anarchist black bloc attacked some socialist party thugs. One "special-repression unit" cop who tried to arrest an anarchist was beaten and had to be hospitalized.

November 19, Burgos (Spain):

Three real estate agencies were attacked and the locks of a court were glued in solidarity with anarchist prisoners in Barcelona, Valencia, and Greece.

November 19, Greece:

The Thessaloniki 7, held since the

June anti-EU resistance, were released! They had faced serious charges but continued militant support and their own hunger strikes forced the government to let them go, pending trial.

November 21, Greece:

An anarchist group claimed responsibility for a firebomb attack that severely damaged a National Branch bank in Athens. Inside the occupied University of Athens, anarchists set up a pirate radio station and sent out motorcycle propaganda teams. A small explosive device was also set off at an Emporiki Bank branch in the northern Greek town of Ioannina.

December 3, Cagliari (Italy):

According to a corporate news agency, a small bomb exploded outside a provincial government office at 1 a.m. in the morning. The attack caused damage to the outside walls of the structure and was allegedly claimed by an anarchist group. It occurred a few hours after the end of a police summit on "terrorism" in Cagliari.

I ATTENTADOS JUSTICIEROS! Political Assassination Attempts in 2003

"Compared with the wholesale violence of capital and government, political acts of violence are but a drop in the ocean. That so few resist is the strongest proof of how terrible must be the conflict between their souls and unbearable social iniquities. High strung, like a violin string, they weep and moan for life, so relentless, so cruel, so terribly inhuman. In a desperate moment the string breaks. Untuned ears hear nothing but discord. But those who feel the agonized cry understand its harmony; they hear in it the fulfillment of the most compelling moment of human nature. Such is the psychology of political violence." - Emma Goldman

October 26, Iraq:

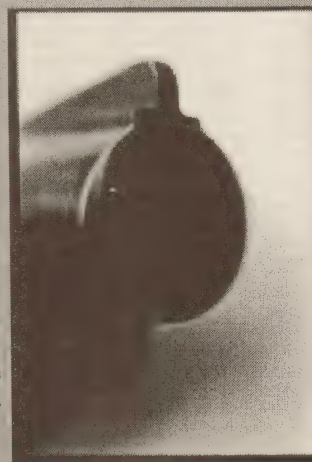
Insurgents Fire Rockets at Hotel, Aimed at Defense Secretary Wolfowitz

BAGHDAD—The hotel where deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz was staying overnight during a visit to Iraq was hit by rockets in the early morning hours, wounding a number of people. Wolfowitz was unfortunately not hurt, and was rushed by security guards out a side door of the lobby. The assassination attempt occurred shortly after 6 a.m., when three or four explosions were heard outside the Rashid Hotel, where Wolfowitz and his delegation were staying. Wolfowitz's exact whereabouts and location were a tightly guarded military secret and the State Department is mystified as to how the Iraqi insurgents knew where to strike. Although details remained sketchy shortly after the attack, it appeared that rockets hit on the third, eighth and 11th floors. Rocket attacks have become quite common against a number of occupation and collaborator targets.

October 31, Scotland:

Youth Who Sent "Poison" to Prince Sentenced to Three Years in Prison

A Scottish youth that sent a letter claiming to contain the poison ricin to Prince William (of the thieving Windsor Family), and a bottle of aromatherapy oil laced with caustic soda to Cherie Blair, was sentenced to three years in prison. Paul Smith, 17, sent apparently poisonous letters and packages to politicians and other ruling class figures after he was supposedly recruited over the internet by an anti-English "terrorist" organization. Smith was 15 when he began a six-month campaign of sending 44 poisonous letters to, among others, the Commons, the Scottish parliament, the Home Office and the BBC. At the high court in Edinburgh, "Lord" Kingarth sentenced him to three years in a prison for "young offenders." Smith had become involved in a sinister and sustained campaign which was calculated to cause and *did* cause considerable distress and alarm," the judge said.



Smith pleaded guilty to two offences at the high court in Glasgow in September. He admitted causing a "breach of the peace" by sending eight "anthrax" and 36 "ricin" letters, as well as sending oil-laced with caustic soda. Smith sent eucalyptus oil laced with sodium hydroxide to Mrs. Blair and Margaret Ashcroft, and to an English Liberal Democrat member of the Scottish parliament. The court ruled that the oil could have caused serious damage had Smith's instructions

to apply it to the face and hands been followed.

December 6, Iraq:

Paul Bremer Narrowly Escapes Death!

BAGHDAD—L. Paul Bremer, the top U.S. civilian official and head administrator in Iraq, revealed on Friday, December 19 that he'd been involved in a guerrilla ambush on his convoy 13 days earlier, but said he had not been hurt. The Dec. 6 attack on Bremer's convoy was not reported at the time, but a U.S. spokesman recently revealed that it had occurred on the same day Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld was visiting the Iraqi capital. Bremer's convoy was near Baghdad airport when the roadside bomb exploded and guerillas fired on his armored car. The military media people vehemently assert that there is no evidence attackers knew that Bremer was in the convoy, calling it "premature" to suggest that insurgents had planned an assassination.

(Compiled by the Guillotine Society)

EVERY HEART A TIMEBOMB!

Anti-Capitalist and Anti-Imperialist Resistance

"This world is poisoning us and forcing us to carry out useless noxious activity; it imposes the need for money on us and deprives us of impassioned relationships. We are growing old among men and women without dreams, strangers in a reality which leaves no room for outbursts of generosity. We are not partisans of abnegation. It's simply that the best this society can offer us (a career, fame, a sudden win, 'love') simply doesn't interest us. Giving orders disgusts us just as much as obedience. We are exploited like everyone else and want to put an end to exploitation right away. For us, revolt needs no other justification. Our lives are escaping us, and any class discourse that fails to start from this is simply a lie." - At Daggers Drawn

September 12, Colorado:

Torching "Symbol of Patriotism"

FRISCO—A giant American flag raised as a September 11 memorial on a prominent mountaintop was torched, sparking outrage from local residents and putting law enforcement on a "high alert." Initially placed on Peak 1 by Frisco resident Kurt Kizer and several patriotic friends a few days after the World Trade Center attacks in 2001, the flag, standing as a nauseating "tribute" visible in much of Summit County, has been replaced on the anniversary of this retaliatory attack on the U.S. each of the last two years by large groups of nationalistic fools. But apparently someone set the day-old, 10-by-15 foot flag ablaze, bent the pole and left a typewritten note condemning the U.S. war in Iraq. "This was more than just simple vandalism. Whoever perpetrated this appears to either support (the terrorist attacks of) 9/11 or is just anti-American. It is very concerning," said Summit County Sheriff Joe Morales.

September 23:

Insurgency in Panama

PANAMA CITY—Tens of thousands of union workers took to the streets in Panama's first national strike in six years. Protesters in Panama City and the country's second largest city, Colon, clashed with police forces, throwing home-made petrol bombs, fireworks and rocks at police in riot gear in confrontations, which lasted several hours.

October 16, Santiago (Chile):

On the *Day Against Multi-National Corporations* 28 people were arrested after a demonstration, during which paint-bombs and rocks were thrown at several McDonalds restaurants, causing five million pesos damage. Masked-up radicals had looted, smashed and set fire to a McDonalds in the city of Cordon Macul the day before.

October 18, Italy:

A device exploded at the front of a military police barracks, damaging the main entrance and breaking windows.

October 22, Bolivia:

Landless peasants occupied the estate of the former president, who had been recently ousted by a popular insurrection.

October 28, Zimbabwe:

University students fighting delays in the distribution of their grants fought riot police, attacked banks and stores, looted goods from the university, and set vehicles on fire—including the vehicle belonging to the university's vice-chancellor. All demonstrations are illegal in Zimbabwe unless they are first cleared by the police.

October 31, Canada:

Scotiabank Attacked in Victoria

From the communiqué:

On Oct 31st, 2003, a large window and a glass door were smashed at the Scotiabank on the corner of Hillside and Douglas in Victoria, Canada. This was a small attack on a property owned by the class of people with money and power, the people who profit from our poverty.

- some enemies of the rich, their capitalist system and their government

November, Dominican Republic:

Pigs Clash With Rock-Throwers

Police fired rubber bullets at rock-throwing protesters during a general strike that paralyzed the Dominican Republic. Protesters said at least six people were killed and 60 injured in clashes with police and soldiers around the country. Demonstrators blocked roads with flaming tires and marched to protest rolling blackouts and the rising costs of gas and food. Soldiers in the capital, Santo Domingo, randomly searched vehicles for weapons during the unrest.

November 6:

Pigs Attacked in Turkish Cities

In the city of Ankara more than 1,000 students attacked police with stones and poles as part of an action against State control over universities. Students smashed police cars in front of a police station and the pigs fired shots to disperse the crowd. In Istanbul riot police fired tear gas to break up a Kurdish youth demonstration.

November 9, Seoul (South Korea):

Hundreds of students and workers threw Molotov firebombs in clashes with the police. Riot police assaulted and hospitalized 43 unruly workers (slaves in revolt.) 16 pigs were also injured in the clash. Earlier in the day 100,000 workers demonstrated against the government crackdown on illegal wildcat strikes.

November 17, Pusan (South Korea):

Residents of the town of Pusan were fighting against the construction of a nuclear waste facility, and when police tried to stop them from taking the street they fought back with steel pipes, farming tools and molotov firebombs. Residents also used gas canisters as flame throwers. Residents then set fire to the Pusan county office and a community centre. When one cop was blinded by a firebomb which hit him in the face, hospital staff refused to help him for fear of community reprisals. When the cop was about to be transferred to a different hospital anti-nuclear residents broke into the vehicle and repeatedly attacked the four pigs inside, including the blinded one.

November 23, Iraqi:

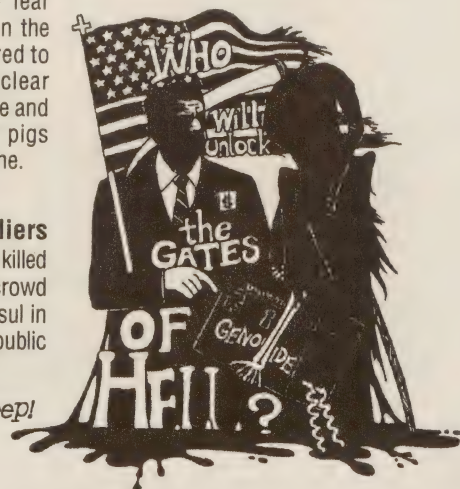
Mob Mutilates U.S. Soldiers

MOSUL—Two U.S. soldiers were killed and their bodies mutilated by a crowd in the northern Iraqi city of Mosul in the most gruesome and blatant public

demonstration so far of anti-American fervor in Iraq. Witnesses said two soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division were shot as they drove across town in a Humvee. Their vehicle crashed into a wall. Teenagers looted the wreck and pulled the soldiers out. One teenager said that he saw others slamming a concrete block onto the dead men's faces. Television footage showed the soldier's bodies splayed on the ground as U.S. troops secured the area. The crowd rage in Mosul was reminiscent of the failed U.S. raid in Mogadishu, Somalia, in October 1993. Pictures of a soldier's body being dragged through the streets there helped "persuade" the Clinton administration that it might be a good idea to withdraw troops. Few Iraqis were shocked by the brutal mutilation of the U.S. soldiers, and some even gloated. "They are occupiers, and this is their punishment," truck driver Hisham Abed said of the soldiers. This type of anti-occupation attack is being repeated in various regions of Iraq.

December 1, Abidjan (Ivory Coast):

Hundreds of youths attacked a French army base. Tires were set on fire at the entrance of the building and the youths pelted the base with stones. French troops fired tear gas and stun grenades at the young insurgents.



BACK TO BASICS!

volume #2

The PROBLEM of the LEFT

THE NATURE OF THE LEFT



The Left is Dead
(please do not resuscitate)

Marx considered industry the “open book of human essential forces.” Nowhere on the Left is this formulation refuted. Its origins, logic, destination are taken for granted. We find here, in fact, a core assumption that unites leftists: that the means of production/technology should be progressively developed, its reach always extended. This notion is very close to the heart of the modern conception of progress. All of life must yield to its imperative.

Domination of nature and domestication are in no way problematic for the Left. Leftists fail to notice that this accounts, in a fundamental way, for the Left’s sorry record in practice concerning both the natural world and the individual.

Like other defenders of civilization and modernity, leftists uphold the “neutrality” of technology. They cling to this credo even as the horrors of genetic engineering, human cloning, the cyborg future for the self, etc. unfold for all to see. Soon, apparently, a wholly mediated and artificial reality will arrive, with the virtual/digital erasure of direct experience itself. Modern industrial “medicine”, for example, is on course to dispense with human contact altogether.

But no matter, this development is “neutral”; it all depends on how it is used or who is in power. As if these innovations weren’t hugely estranging and destructive processes in themselves.

Technology embodies the dominant values of the social order where it resides. It is inseparable from those values and is their physical expression. Technology becomes a system, as its society becomes a system. At a fairly early stage of the development of division of labor (specialization), tools become technology. Where once there were autonomous, equal individuals and tools accessible to all, the effective power of experts gradually takes over, promoting social hierarchy.

Division of labor is a fundamental motor of complex, stratified, alienated society, today as from the beginning.

The Left doesn’t question this basic institution that drives all the rest, and so must repeat the dominant lie about the neutrality of technology. In this way the Left works continually for the preservation of the values and the society that produce ever more powerful and oppressive technology.

Globalization is not only the cutting edge of the world system of domination; it also represents division of labor at the global level. The Left, of course, takes even this for granted, opposing only the excesses of certain policies, not globalization itself. Thus “Against Globophobia,” (*The Nation*, December 1, 2003) rails against those of us who do oppose it, e.g. “This might be a good time to junk local self-reliance as an ideal and embrace a deeply global perspective.” The current bible of the Left, Hardt and Negri’s *Empire* (2000), is at least as committed to contemporary society’s mainstays of productionism, technology, and the basic world system. This system is stamping out all difference, including indigenous lifeways, in favor of standardization and global homogeneity.

In his *Mirror of Production* (1972), Jean Baudrillard showed that marxism (and all of the modern Left) is just the mirror image of capital’s techno-economic essentials. Even earlier, Walter Benjamin understood that “mass production is the production of masses.”

The Left is not radical and really never was. Its adherents challenge none of the underlying givens of this rotten, massified anti-life world. On the contrary, the Left—including the anarchist Left—defends them all. What leftists *do* oppose is a qualitatively different vision, in the direction of decentralized, face-to-face, small-scale community where individual responsibility makes division of labor and domination obsolete, and human anarchy is part of nature.



LEFTISM 101

by Lawrence Jarach

What is Leftism?

For most it means some form of socialism, despite the fact that there are plenty of leftists who are not opposed to capitalism (clearly from the actual history of socialism, not all socialists are opposed to capitalism either). Plenty of other arguments can be made about that, but let's just keep things simple and assume that the two terms are synonymous. As is the case with most vague terms, however, it's easier to come up with a list of characteristics than a definition. Leftism encompasses many divergent ideas, strategies, and tactics; are there any common threads that unite all leftists, despite some obvious differences? In order to begin an attempt at an answer, it is necessary to examine the philosophical antecedents to what can broadly be termed Socialism.

Liberalism, Humanism, and Republicanism are political and philosophical schools of thought deriving from the modern European tradition (roughly beginning during the Renaissance). Without going into details, adherents of the three (especially Liberalism) presume the existence of an ideal property-owning male individual who is a fully rational (or at least a *potentially* rational) agent. This idealized individual stands opposed to the arbitrary authority of the economic and political systems of monarchism and feudalism, as well as the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church. All three (LH&R) presume the capacity of anyone (male), through education and hard work, to succeed in a free market (of commodities and ideas). Competition is the overall ethos of all three.

The promoters of LH&R insist that these modernist philosophies—compared to monarchism, elitism, and feudalism—are advances on the road to human freedom. They believe it more beneficial for what they call The Greater Good to adhere to and promote a philosophy that at least proposes the ability of anyone to gain some kind of control over her/his own life, whether in the realm of education, economic prosperity, or political interactions. The ultimate goals of LH&R are to do away with economic scarcity and intellectual/spiritual poverty, while promoting the idea of more democratic governance. They promote this under the rubric of Justice, and they see the State as its ultimate guarantor.

Socialism as a modern movement has been

greatly influenced by these three philosophies.

Like those who adhere to LH&R, leftists are concerned with, and are opposed to, economic and social injustice. They all propose ameliorating social ills through active intervention or charity, whether under the auspices of the State, NGOs, or other formal organizations. Very few of the proposed solutions or stopgaps promote (or even acknowledge) self-organized solutions engaged in by those directly suffering such ills. Welfare, affirmative action programs, psychiatric hospitals, drug rehabilitation facilities, etc. are all examples of various attempts to deal with social problems. Given the premises of these overlapping philosophies and their practical frameworks, they have the appearance of being the results of intelligence and knowledge mixed with empathy and the desire to help people. Cooperation for The Common Good is seen as more beneficial to humanity than individual competition. However, socialism also takes the existence of competition for granted. Liberals and socialists alike believe that human beings do not naturally get along, so we must be educated and encouraged to be cooperative. When all else fails, this can always be enforced by the State.

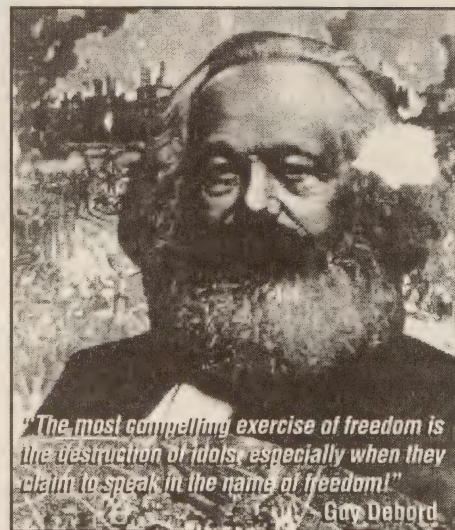


Moderate, Radical, and Extreme Leftism

Tactics and strategies

Regardless of the fact that there is plenty of overlap and blending—precluding real, discrete boundaries—I hope that describing these various manifestations of leftism will be a way to identify certain particular characteristics.

In terms of strategy and tactics, moderate leftists believe that things can be made better by working within current structures and



institutions. Clearly reformist, moderate leftists promote legal, peaceful, and polite superficial alterations in the status quo, eventually hoping to legislate socialism into existence. The democracy they champion is bourgeois: one person, one vote, majority rule.

Radical leftists promotes a mixture of legal and illegal tactics, depending on whatever appears to have a better chance of succeeding at the moment, but they ultimately want the sanction of some properly constituted legal institutions (especially when they get to make most of the rules to be enforced). They are pragmatic, hoping for peaceful change, but ready to fight if they believe it to be necessary. The democracy they promote is more proletarian: they aren't worried about the process of any particular election, so long as gains are made at the expense of the bosses and mainstream politicians.

Extreme leftists are amoral pragmatists, a strategic orientation that can also be termed opportunistic. They are decidedly impolite, explicitly desiring the destruction of current institutions (often including the State), with the desire to remake them so that only they themselves will be able to make and enforce new laws. They are much more willing to use force in the service of their goals. The democracy they promote is usually based on a Party.

Relationship to capitalists

All leftists privilege the category of worker as worker/producer, an entity that exists only within the sphere of the economy. Moderate leftists campaign for workers' rights (to strike, to have job security and safety, to have decent and fair contracts), trying to mitigate the more obvious abuses of the bosses through the passage and enforcement of progressive legislation. They want capitalism to be organized with "People Before Profits" (as the overused slogan has it), ignoring the internal logic and history of capitalism. Moderate leftists promote socially responsible investing and want a more just

distribution of wealth; social wealth in the form of the much-touted "safety net," and personal wealth in the form of higher wages and increased taxes on corporations and the rich. They want to balance the rights of property and labor.

Radical leftists favor workers at the expense of the bosses. Workers are always right to the radical leftist. They wish to change the legal structure in such a way to reflect this favoritism, which is supposed to compensate for the previous history of exploitation. The redistribution of wealth envisioned by radical leftists builds on the higher wages and increased taxation of the corporations and the rich to include selective expropriation/nationalization (with or without compensation) of various resources (banks, natural resources for example).

Extreme leftists promote the total expropriation—without compensation—of the capitalist class, not only to right the wrongs of economic exploitation, but to remove the capitalist class from political power as well. At some point, the workers are to be at least nominally in charge of economic and political decision making (although that is usually meditated through a Party leadership).

The role of the State

Leftists view the State on a continuum of ambivalence. Most are clear that the role of the State is to further the goals of whatever class happens to rule at any given period; further they all recognize that the ruling class always reserves for itself a monopoly on the legitimate use of force and violence to enforce their rule. In the political imaginations of all moderate and some radical leftists, the State (even with a completely capitalist ruling class) can be used to remedy many social problems, from the excesses of transnational corporations to the abuses of those who have been traditionally disenfranchised (immigrants, women, minorities, the homeless, etc.). For extreme leftists, only their own State can solve such problems, because it is in the interest of the current ruling class to maintain divisions among those who are not of the ruling class. Despite the ambivalence, an attachment to the functions of government as executed by the State remains. This is the pivotal area of conflict between all leftists and all anarchists, despite the historical positioning of anarchism within the spectrum of leftism—about which more below.

The role of the individual

Missing from all these different strains of leftism is a discussion of the individual. While LH&R refer briefly to the individual, these philosophies do not take into account non-property-owning males, females, or juveniles—who are indeed considered the property of the normative individual: the adult property-owning man. This led to the complete lack

on interest in (and the accompanying exploitation of) peasants and workers, a disregard that is supposed to be corrected by socialism. Unfortunately, virtually all socialists only posit the category Worker and Peasant as collective classes—a mass to be molded and directed—never considering the desires or interests of the individual (male or female) worker or peasant to control their own lives. According to the ideological imperatives of leftist thought, the self-activity of these masses is seen suspiciously through the ideological blinkers of the competitive ethos of capitalism (since the masses aren't yet intelligent enough to be socialists); the workers will perhaps be able to organize themselves



into defensive trade unions in order to safeguard their wages, while the peasants will only want to own and work their own piece of land. Again, education and enforcement of cooperation is necessary for these masses to become conscious political radicals.

A Generic Leftism?

So all leftists share the goals of making up for injustice by decree, whether the decree comes out of better/more responsive representatives and leaders, a more democratic political process, or the elimination of a non-worker power base. They all desire to organize, mobilize, and direct masses of people, with the eventual goal of attaining a more or less coherent majority, in order to propel progressive and democratic change of social institutions. Recruitment, education, and inculcating leftist values are some of the more mundane strategies leftists use to increase their influence in the wider political landscape.

All leftists have a common distrust of regular (non-political/non-politicized) people being able to decide for themselves how to solve the problems that face them. All leftists share an abiding faith in *leadership*. Not just a trust of particular leaders who portray themselves as having certain moral or ethical virtues over and above common people, but of the very principle of leadership. This confidence in leadership never brings representational politics into question. The existence of elected or appointed

leaders who speak and act on behalf, or in the place, of individuals and groups is a given; mediation in the realm of politics is taken as a necessity, removing most decision making from individuals and groups. Leftists share this commitment to leadership and representation—they believe themselves able to justly represent those who have traditionally been excluded from politics: the disenfranchised, the voiceless, the weak.

The leftist activist, as a representative of those who suffer, is a person who believes her/himself to be indispensable to improving the lives of others. This derives from a dual-pronged notion common to all leftists:

1. Non-political people, left to their own devices, will never be able to alter their situations in a radical or revolutionary manner (Lenin's dismissal of workers as never being able to move beyond a "trade union mentality" without some professional outside help comes to mind here); and

2. Those with more intelligence or a better analysis are both wise and ethical enough to lead (whether through example or by decree) and organize others for their own good, and perhaps more importantly, the greater good.

The unspoken but implicit theme that runs through this brief assessment of leftism is a reliance on authoritarian relations, whether assumed or enforced, brutally compelling or gently rational. The existence of an economy (exchange of commodities in a market) presumes the existence of one or more institutions to mediate disputes between those who produce, those who own, and those who consume; the existence of a representational



political process presumes the existence of one or more institutions to mediate disputes between diverse parties based on common interest (often with conflicting goals); the existence of leadership presumes that there are substantive differences in the emotional and intellectual capacities of those who direct and those who follow. There are plenty of rationalizations contributing to the maintenance of such institutions of social control (schools, prisons, the military, the workplace), from efficiency to expediency, but they all

ultimately rely on the legitimate (sanctioned by the State) use of coercive authority to enforce decisions. Leftists share a faith in the mediating influence of wise and ethical leaders who can work within politically neutral, socially progressive, and humane institutional frameworks. Their thoroughly hierarchical and authoritarian natures, however, should be clear even after a cursory glance.

(continued on next page)

The PROBLEM of the LEFT

Are All Forms of Anarchism Leftist?

All anarchists share a desire to abolish government; that is the definition of anarchism. Starting with Bakunin, anarchism has been explicitly anti-statist, anti-capitalist, and anti-authoritarian; no serious anarchist seeks to alter that. Leftists have consistently supported and promoted the functions of the State, have an ambiguous relationship to capitalist development, and are all interested in maintaining hierarchical relationships. In addition, historically they have either tacitly ignored or actively suppressed the desires of individuals and groups for autonomy and self-organization, further eroding any credible solidarity between themselves and anarchists. On a purely definitional level, then, there should be an automatic distinction between leftists and anarchists, regardless of how things have appeared in history.

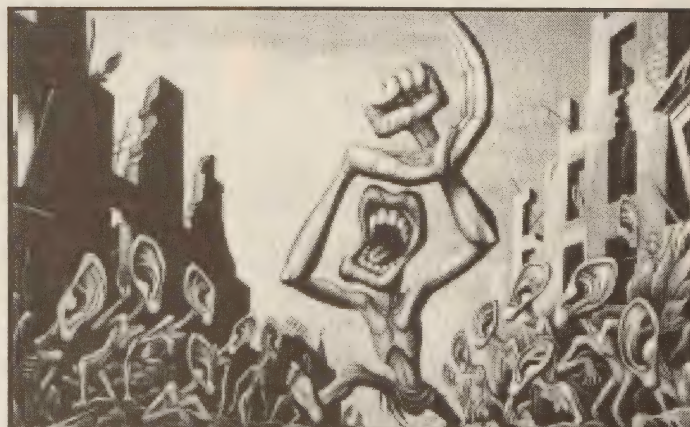
Despite these differences, many anarchists have thought of themselves as extreme leftists—and continue to do so—because they share many of the same analyses and interests (a distaste for capitalism, the necessity of revolution, for example) as leftists; many revolutionary leftists have also considered anarchists to be their (naïve) comrades—except in moments when the leftists gain some power; then the anarchists are either co-opted, jailed, or executed. The possibility for an extreme leftist to be anti-statist may be high, but is certainly not guaranteed, as any analysis history will show.

Left anarchists retain some kind of allegiance to 19th century LH&R and socialist philosophers, preferring the broad, generalized (and therefore extremely vague) category of socialism/anti-capitalism and the strategy of mass political struggles based on coalitions with other leftists, all the while showing little (if any) interest in promoting individual and group autonomy. From these premises, they can quite easily fall prey to the centralizing tendencies and leadership functions that dominate the tactics of leftists. They are quick to quote Bakunin (maybe Kropotkin too) and advocate organizational forms that might have been appropriate in the era of the First International, apparently oblivious to the sweeping changes that have occurred in the world in the past hundred-plus years—and they then have the gall to ridicule Marxists for remaining wedded to Marx's outdated theories, as if by not naming their own tendencies after other dead guys they are thereby immune from similar mistakes.

The drawbacks and problems with Marxism, however—for example that it promotes the idea of a linear progression of history of order developing out of chaos, freedom developing out of oppression, material abundance developing out of scarcity, socialism developing out of capitalism, plus an absolute faith in Science as the ideologically neutral pursuit of pure Knowledge, and a similar faith in the liberatory function of all technology—are the same drawbacks and problems with the anarchism of Bakunin and Kropotkin. All of this seems lost on left anarchists. They blithely continue to promote a century-old version of anarchism, clearly unaware of, or unconcerned by, the fact that the philosophical and practical failures of leftism—in terms of the individual, the natural world, and appropriate modes of resistance to the continued domination of a flexible, adaptable, and expanding capitalism—are shared by this archaic form of anarchism as well.

Those of us who are interested in promoting radical social change in general, and anarchy in particular, need to emulate and improve upon successful (however temporary) revolutionary projects for liberation, rather than congratulating ourselves for being the heirs of Bakunin (et al.). We can do this best if we free ourselves from the historical baggage and the ideological and strategic constraints of all varieties of leftism.

BACK TO BASICS volume #2



We Were Born Into a World Where:

Dreams and desires have been locked within the cages of psychotherapeutic interpretations;
Revolt has been bound with the fetters of moribund leftist ideologies;
Creativity has been enslaved to the sadistic masters, art and literature;
The marvelous has been handcuffed to the cops of mysticism and mythology;
Reality has lost the ability to laugh at itself and its foibles and so suppresses a truly playful spirit;
Thought has become a rigidly armored fortress protecting its ideological foundations from every criticism;
Revolution has had its passion organized out of existence leaving only structural rigor mortis where once insurgence breathed and danced.
This world has ceased to bring forth amazing monsters;
It is no longer a conduit for the marvelous;
It has lost touch with the convulsive beauty of love and lust;
It can no longer give birth to babies with wings;
It has ceased growing and begun to rot;
It has suppressed surreality wherever this marvelous flower has bloomed.
Therefore, from now on, surreality will manifest in:
Dreams and desires freed from all interpretation and sublimation, being the living energies of free-spirited individuals;
Total revolt against every aspect of social reality including the ideologies that strive to squeeze this revolt into the limited mold of leftist activism;
The free-spirited creation of our lives for ourselves, lived to the limits against every role and rule;
The discovery of the marvelous in each unique being, free from any mystical or religious guidelines;
The humor and playfulness of free-spirited individuals who realize their strength and creativity in their own joyful foolishness;
Open, expansive, generous thinking which grows from the inner strength of free-spirited rebels;
An insurgent dance, a feral insurrection that refuses all limitations, exists beyond all structures and is the realm of indomitable free spirits.
Today, social reality is a lifeless, passionless corpse. Let's bury it. Now the amazing monsters of surreality must come forth in the world playful and terrifying in their wild energy, freed of the cages and chains that have bound them; our dreams, our desires, our humor, our revolt can populate the world with the most marvelous creatures.
Social reality is dead; long live surreality!

—Wolfi Landstreicher

Liberation, Not Organization

If I Have to Pay Dues or Carry a Membership Card,
I Don't Want to Be In Your Revolution. by A. Morefus

I desire *liberation*, not *organization*. While most leftists would claim that the two go hand-in-hand, or at least that the second is necessary to achieve the first (and for some the second might even "wither away" sometime after "The Revolution"), to me, the two seem contradictory. I am not fighting for a world which is run better (more efficiently and more fairly), I am fighting for a world which doesn't need running (one which is radically decentralized). Here lies the contradiction between the Left, and those fighting for autonomy and anarchy.

If the politics of the left (including leftist-anarchists) could be distilled into one phrase, it might be "Social Justice" – a vague longing for a social system which ensures equality (socially and economically, although not necessarily politically) for everyone, and the political apparatus necessary to ensure/enforce their particular notion of what that would mean. But only by people controlling their own lives, and all decisions which pertain to them, will people ever be free. This should be a basic concept, at least for anarchists, but unfortunately for those still tied to a leftist mode of operation and thinking, it is not. In fact, this simple notion is attacked for being too "individualist" or "unrealistic". I guess some people just think they know what is best, especially for the "lumpen" and "the masses." They wish to plug everyone into an infrastructure which adheres to the "correct" ideology (a notion anarchists should reject at face value): as Michael Albert (*Z Magazine*) has said, the "good morality". These notions of "the way" are an insult to independent thinking and openness, and stand in direct opposition to anarchy, and deserve only disdain.

Only WE can fully understand what WE are fighting for, and our own interests and skills. We waste too much time trying to form affinity and artificial unity with those with whom there is very little meaningful agreement. Decentralized autonomous groups, making all of their own decisions, are the key to effectiveness and to staying motivated. Only when resistance comes from our hearts can we have any chance of fulfillment. I am not just "two arms for the revolution," as some guilt-ridden, uncritical, and uninspired leftists and leftist-anarchists have proclaimed. I am not a foot soldier for a vanguard or an "oppressed people."

And, the last thing we need is more standardization, mechanization, and militaristic approaches...the logic which projects this whole system forward.

I am fighting for my own liberation, and from this stems my support for my family, my community, others' struggles, and the rest of life. Does this mean we cannot learn from others, share ideas, or join together in projects of resistance? Certainly not, but these junctures **MUST** be without coercion, manipulation, and domination. They should be seen as temporary and organic, and their continued connection cannot be at the expense of our autonomy. We need to prioritize the deep and meaningful relationships over the superficial and political ones.



We must avoid the "lowest common denominator" approach to liberation, one which sums up our collective desires and struggles in vague catchwords like "freedom", "equality", and "justice", or the "One Big Union" approach, which superficially embraces diversity, yet in reality, works to diminish all individuality and autonomy.

Some anarchists, and all leftists, propose large monolithic federations, parties, and structures to "get shit done" and "hold people accountable." We must reject this fetishization of organization and control. Our liberation should not be dependent on a political or economic structure – it should come from our own desires and willingness to fight for another world. A leftist-anarchist friend of mine wants to know how we hold people accountable

when they continually "flake." To which I respond, learn the patterns of those you work and live with, and know what you can depend on, and what you cannot. If they are continually unreliable, then don't rely on them. It's simple. It all comes down to bringing about a deeper understanding of one another, not some adjudication process to enforce agreements...that is how the state works. Even in regard to abusers, some would like established policies and rigid methods for dealing with people, but each scenario is different, and each victim and community demands a different outcome. It is taking the easy way out, when we attempt to programmatically apply a solution to a problem. Taking responsibility for a situation and working towards the most effective outcome takes time, energy, and commitment to one another, and while it may seem difficult at the time, in the end it is usually the most meaningful.

Smaller groups are more able to make decisions which are relevant to the individuals involved, while large organizations require tremendous amounts of resources and bureaucracy just to perpetuate themselves. Constant decisions need to be made just to keep them "running," and this will inevitably lead to representation and hierarchy. The further we are from any decision-making process, the more alienated we are from the decisions it makes. This is not a healthy model for taking control of our own lives, it is a model for being controlled. As anarchists, we need to take responsibility for our own decisions and their outcomes.

This is not to say that we should only be concerned with decision-making on an individual level (although there are certainly decisions which only apply here), but also as small, decentralized communities. Here, decisions are made face-to-face, with each member of our family, band, or collective deeply entwined with one another and our environment – a bio-regional perspective which reflects how natural ecosystems function. We only need organizations and large structures if we want to keep most of the racket known as civilization going (including technology, production, the military, mass society, globalized reality, etc), but if we reject all of this, we can bring our lives back to a human scale, lives worth living.

The PROBLEM of the LEFT



BY CROIX DECHAMPEL

THE LEFT HANDED PATH OF REPRESSION

"The pleasure police don't always wear uniforms. They wear ideologies — rigid, theoretical constructions in their heads. And their heads in turn rule over their bodies and oppress them."

—Smirk #4 (Post-Leftist Pleasure Politics)

In spite of its abysmal, largely totalitarian history, the various political tendencies that comprise what we call the "Left" are attempting to make a resurgence in North America — basically by trying to exploit situations like the war in Iraq and capitalist globalization as new opportunities to promote their hopelessly outdated and downright ridiculously statist programs for "change." It would be easy enough to just ignore these socialist champions of duty and sacrifice — these would-be world-betterers who tilt at the windmills of established power and ultimately accomplish nothing — were it not for the fact that they've infested the anarchist movement with their authoritarian, guilt-ridden politics and are essentially waging war on the free exchange of ideas between radicals and dissidents. Cloaking themselves in "concerns" about racism, sexism and homophobia, these anarcho-leftists seem primarily interested in impeding the development of revolutionary theory and revolutionary action, by setting rules about what can and cannot be said (or even thought) by those who are interested in examining the *totality* of the System we live under.

When they're not trying to lure anarchists down the dead-end path of "identity politics," these self-styled "experts in oppression" are

working overtime to impose new "politically-correct" moralisms and constraining codes of behavior *on other people*, adding new layers of repression to an already unbearably repressive and artificial situation, i.e., modern civilized "life." In a world where virtually every aspect of our lives is governed and controlled, where the majority of our "choices" and "options" are false, manufactured ones, and where our every instinct and biological impulse is stifled by an authoritarian order, the Left proposes *more* (or at least, *new*) rules and regulations as the solution! Like the genocidal Catholic missionaries of the Columbian invasion or the grim-faced, anally-retentive Puritans of New England, these internally tormented Leftists want to *universalize* their own inhibitions and psychological hang-ups, by creating a new governing structure that mirrors their own fears and personal misery.

The personal is *very* political when it comes to the *Left*, as your typical leftist is neurotically obsessed with how others live, what they eat and consume, and most alarmingly, with the words and *thoughts* that stray from the Left's approved range of opinions. The main difference between the Left and the "Right" is that the Left's intrusiveness into other peoples' lives is justified on *political grounds*, while the "Right" generally justifies it on Biblical or religious grounds. In either case, we're dealing with *morality*, with external codes of conduct and behavior that some self-dictated "superior" believes is the prescription for a more tidy, orderly and efficient society.

At this point, it's worth asking: What deranged emotional disorder leads to the formation of such authoritarian tendencies in the human personality, and what aberration of the psyche convinces the Left that it has the knowledge and the right to refashion and reprogram other people into its new morality? We believe that the research of Wilhelm Reich provides invaluable insight into the "mass psychosis of Leftism" and the remainder of this essay will explore Reich's theories of "character armoring" and how it applies to the Left as an inherently authoritarian political current.

Sexual Repression: The Root of All Social Control?

"The person afflicted with the emotional plague limps characterologically. The emotional plague is a chronic biopathy of the organism. It made an inroad into human society with the first mass suppression of genital sexuality; it became an endemic disease, which has been tormenting people the world over for thousands of years. According to our knowledge, it is implanted in the child from the first days of life. It is an endemic illness, like schizophrenia or cancer, with one notable difference, i.e., it is essentially manifested in social life."

—Wilhelm Reich

Wilhelm Reich was a radical psychotherapist (and former student of Freud) who, in the 1920s,

began to make observations about human sexual repression that we believe have a lot to contribute to the anti-civilization critique. The linchpin of civilization, the defining process that holds it all together, is *domestication* — the suppression and restructuring of what was once wild and free. In the human animal this translates into the repression and bludgeoning of our natural instincts by outside social forces. Reich believed that human beings formed what he termed "character armor" as a chronic result of the clash between instinctual demands and an outer world, which frustrates those demands. This "character armor" is formed when the ego undergoes a structural change in order to carry out the inhibition of instincts demanded by the modern, civilized world and to be able to cope with the energy stasis which results from this inhibition.

Reich described this change in the human psyche as a *hardening*, a cementing of civilized repressions that take on a chronically operating, automatic character, as if the affected (repressed) personality has developed a hard shell around itself to deflect and weaken the blows of the outer world as well as the clamoring of unfulfilled inner needs. As a protective psychological formation that has become chronic, Reich felt that this character hardening merited the designation of the psychic mobility of the personality as a whole. The maintenance of this character armor always proceeds according to the pleasure-unpleasure principle and consists of multiple, interrelated layers that serve to ward off the most deeply repressed impulses.

And the most deeply repressed impulse in the civilized world, according to Reich, is the natural human need to give and receive love and to experience orgiastic, libidinal gratification and pleasure. But human sexuality had been repressed and disfigured, claimed Reich, by the compulsory sex morality of the dominant culture.

Reich linked sexual repression to the formation of authoritarian personalities and believed that there are *libidinal* energies, which are employed in the anchoring of the authoritarian social order, as he explained in his 1933 book *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*.

Reich believed that it was in this anchoring of the social order in the character structure that we find an explanation for the toleration on the part of the suppressed layers of the population toward the rulership of an upper social class that has the means of power at its disposal, a toleration that often goes so far as to affirm authoritarian suppression at the expense of its own class interests. Reich's analysis of sexual imagery within Nazi propaganda and Hitler's hypnotic oratory performances led him to believe that Germans achieved some sort of orgiastic satisfaction from their dedication to the *führer* and his *weltanschauung* of sexual repression. Myron Sharaf, Reich's biographer, commented that, "This intense libidinal excitation, combined with a sense of moral righteousness, was strikingly similar to the atmosphere at religious revival meetings."

Reich went on to apply his same critique of the Third Reich to Soviet Russia and the Communist Party, and came to the following conclusions:

- Humankind is biologically sick.
- Politics is the irrational social expression of this sickness.
- The character structure of the masses is formed by socioeconomic processes and it anchors and perpetuates these processes. Humanity's biopathic character structure is the fossilization of the authoritarian process of history. It is the biophysical reproduction of mass suppression.
- The fear of freedom — and the *incapacity* for freedom — of masses of people is expressed in the biophysical rigidity of the character and the inflexibility of the organism.
- Interest in money and power is a substitute for unfulfilled happiness in love, supported by the biologic rigidity of masses of people.

We want to make it clear at this point that we don't uncritically embrace all of Reich's ideas. Like most visionaries, Reich's life was riddled with contradictions, and even as anarchists, we regard some of his later writings as marginally crackpot. And despite his advocacy of "free love" and non-monogamy, Reich seemed to be pretty sexually repressed himself and maintained throughout his life that homosexuality was a "disorder." Nonetheless, we feel that Reich stumbled upon a "piece of the puzzle," and if we accept that even a *fraction* of what he postulates is feasible, then it revolutionizes our understanding of how both social domestication and authoritarian political rackets work. Human beings as a species have been deeply scarred and traumatized by 10,000 years of colonization, domestication and sexual repression, and no social order that emerges from this collective dysfunctionality/psychosis can offer us anything but more repression. As Reich described it, "The human masses have become apathetic, incapable of discrimination, biopathic and slavish as a result of the suppression of their vital life over thousands of years."

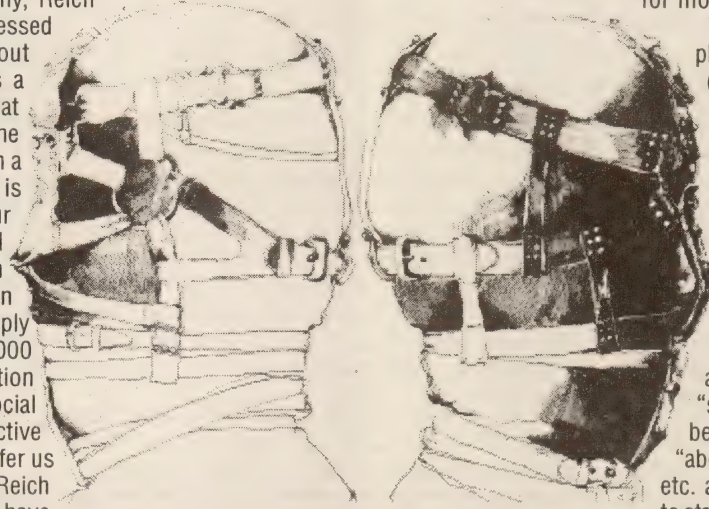
This is an amazingly basic insight, and yet so profound in its implications! If left-wing states and political movements originate in the same authoritarian gene pool as so-called "right wing" regimes, then we can be assured ahead of time that they won't reproduce anything but continued slavery and control. The political Left is nothing more than a *particular form* of authoritarianism and is in essence and character *identical* to any other version of statism.

The "progressives" who yearn to install a left-wing state want to use the power of that state to control other people's habits, living patterns, moral conduct and worldview. This has been demonstrated time after time since the 1917 Russian Revolution, yet shockingly, many younger radicals (especially here in Eugene) continue to subscribe to the myth that the Left

is the good guy in an overly-simplistic, cartoonish struggle against the "reactionary" capitalist class. But as anarchists, it's obvious that there can be no cure for the disease of capitalism if the supposed "antidote" (the Left) is itself a carrier of the same virus of control and rigidity.

The Machine as Sadomasochistic Overseer and Technology as a New Layer of Character Armor

If sexual repression forms an early and major layer of our "character armor," then how many additional layers of domestication are added as human life begins to merge more and more fully with technology? And why is it that all leftist models for a "socialist future" seem to resemble the workings of a machine? The second question is the easier one to answer and it lies in the fact that leftists have always seen themselves as social engineers and have always had a nearly religious faith in continued linear progress and the limitless development of scientific and technical knowledge. The machine age and the "machine-age consciousness" it promulgates translates into an engineering vision of human



beings reworked according to properly mechanical precepts. In the leftist techno-utopia the repressed sexual energy of the "masses" will be sublimated into work, as we all trudge in uniform fashion to the conveyor belts that will deliver us to our dreary, mind-numbing tasks each day, becoming effectively human extensions of the machine.

The cumulative result of all this is clear: more misery and more repression, as technology penetrates our lives even more thoroughly, creating mechanical patterns to which we are expected to conform.

Welcome to Eugene, Leftist Capital of the World or "It's Starting to Get a Little Kooky Around Here"

Several years ago a leftist "emotional plague" swept through the Eugene anarchist milieu, leaving a trail of shattered lives and sabotaged

projects in its wake. The "plague" was introduced into the community by a small group of former or currently enrolled, middle-class college students whose objective seemed to be not only silencing opinions they didn't like but also *destroying*, both personally and publicly, the individuals who expressed those opinions. A huge preoccupation of this "vanguard intelligentsia" was the imposition of politically correct speech codes and the calculated, manipulative use of certain politically-loaded buzzwords (like "racist," "sexist" and "homophobic") to stigmatize anyone who had an "unapproved" point of view.

Hiding behind legitimate issues of oppression (and camouflaging themselves for a short time as anarchists) this nasty, humorless sect promoted a group identity and employed all the hallmark leftist strategies of bullying and browbeating anyone who was too naive to see what was going on. Particularly fascinating was watching this constipated, dour-faced crew attempt to formulate a new, community-wide leftist morality, one that was decidedly anti-erotic, and even *anti-pleasure*. Like most leftists, they seemed to have zero interest in freedom and actually appeared to be fighting for more pain!

The "administrators" of this leftist plague, the small cadre of self-appointed (and self-oppressed) "teachers" who believed that they — *and only they* — possessed the "superior knowledge," academic training, and social design to restructure human nature, began to develop a pedagogical style that isolated and demonized anyone they saw as "backwards" and "uneducated" — as well as anyone who desired to have egalitarian relationships with others and wasn't willing to be treated as a "subordinate." A new Thought Police began to emerge under the guise of "abolishing sexism," "smashing racism," etc. and implicitly sent out the message to stay quiet about the new leftist orthodoxy, lest you become the next victim of a "reputation assassination." It was a clever strategy and helped to distract people from recognizing just how devoid these power-tripping socialists were of radical ideas and analysis!

Sadism and masochism seemed to be the psychological mechanics employed to foster group-think, along with "sin" and repentance, guilt, shame, fear of freedom, punishment, unworthiness, and distrust of one's own thoughts and instincts: in short, the usual reprogramming techniques utilized by any other cult, from the Moonies to the U.S. Army. The whole "plague" began to take on an eerie resemblance to Catholicism, and fortunately, only infected our community just long enough to serve as a graphic, firsthand example of how the Left wants to *control our lives* through the imposition of new, uniquely leftist, forms of repression.

(continued on next page)

The PROBLEM of the LEFT

The Robots Will Not Get Through!

Authoritarians can be most easily distinguished from anarchists by the fact that authoritarians make *their* demands of life not merely on themselves but, above all, on other people and on *the social environment as a whole*. The person afflicted with the authoritarian plague imposes their mode of life upon others *by force* and will not tolerate views that threaten their authoritarian, repressed character armor or unmask their concealed motives. The repressed-authoritarian personality fights against other modes of life (and thought) even when they don't (or shouldn't) concern them in any way; they are impelled to fight because they perceive the *very existence* of other beliefs and ways of life as a provocation.

Left and Right-wing authoritarians all tend to view the human animal as a flawed machine that can be perfected through the installation of the correct "software" into our hard drive. But the Left is divided amongst itself, and there is significant (and often bitter) disagreement as to what the correct software program is, particularly with regard to human sexuality. Some leftists advocate compulsory homosexuality for "political reasons," while others, like the RCP, regard homosexuality as a "perversion" and a symptom of the decadence of bourgeois society. Other leftists go a step further and promote an anti-sex celibacy that they see as the solution to problems such as sexism and rape.

But one thing's for sure, the Left is *very* interested in the sexuality of other people, as are all authoritarians. Leftist regimes — from the Soviet Union to Cuba to communist China — have all created classes of sexual "criminals" and have all (just like Protestants and capitalists) used the repressed sexual energy of the larger human mass as an instrument of control and as fuel for their grand human and social reengineering projects.

Authoritarians all have a strong hatred against every process which provokes its own orgasmic yearning (suffering from what Reich called "orgasm anxiety"). This helps explain why almost nowhere in the vast canon of leftist theoretical works are subjects like *pleasure, ecstasy and self-determination* ever discussed... maybe the desire for Eros will be *disciplined* out of us by the State over time?

We know that sexual repression is only one of many layers of repression placed on the human animal by civilization and ruling elites (the suppression of violence and anger, so brilliantly discussed by Frantz Fanon, will be elaborated on in this Spring's "Rewilding" issue of *Green Anarchy*) but we wanted to tackle the subject of the left in a way that brings it back home, into our own lives. We've also attempted to provide something that's conspicuously absent from many of the newer "anarchist" publications, like *Onward* and the *Northeastern Anarchist*: a critique of authoritarianism.

THE LEFT TODAY

Alas, still around to some degree, going through the motions and in some cases finding new ways to repackage the same old shit.

The eternally superficial liberal-left "progressives" are as transparently averse to liberation as are the few surviving leninoid authoritarians. Not even worth a line or two. But there are more current maneuvers possibly deserving a little critical attention....

The Social Forum, in its "Global" as well as more local forms, is a recent catch-all for leftists, including communists looking for a home in the post-Soviet Union era. At anti-G8 Genoa in 2001, Genoa Social Forum partisans did their best to deliver anarchists to the police and worked hard afterwards to spread lies about the Black Bloc effort in Genoa. At last year's Global Social Forum in Porto Alegre these statist—or those in charge, anyway—spent their time praising Brazilian president Lula's leftist regime and having anarchists physically attacked in the streets. Closer "anarchist" Noam Chomsky is one of the main Social Forum leaders.

The "anti-state communists" we still have with us, although they seem to be going nowhere. The term has appeal to some, but is meaningless and contradictory. The anti-state commies have yet to criticize mass production and global trade, because they apparently want to preserve all the techno-essentials of the modern setup. It is impossible to have global production and exchange without government—call it by any name you like—to coordinate and regulate any such mass system.

Michael Albert's participatory economics ("parecon") holds that the state function could



'TAKE A BLUE OUT OF LEFTISM'

be replaced by an enormous amount of meeting-hours by everyone, in order to set production and trade quotas, etc. If one's priority is to run a world just like the one we now endure, I guess such an unappealing blueprint somehow makes sense.

A rather different phenomenon is the (largely European) "insurrectionalist" stance, which seems to be a kind of amorphous hybrid of several contradictory tenets. In order to maximize the unity required to achieve an insurrectionary condition, insurrectionalists find it useful to minimize a potentially non-unifying discussion of specifics. But this approach runs the risk of tending toward suppression of ideas. Meanwhile, insurrectionalist theorist Alfredo Bonanno can espouse national liberation fronts (states-in-waiting), while others in this camp are very lucidly anti-civilization (Bonanno, it should be added, has been prosecuted repeatedly and imprisoned in Italy for his courageous resistance over the years). Maybe insurrectionalism is less an ideology than an undefined tendency, part left and part anti-left but generally anarchist.

What all these left-leaners lack is a willingness to confront the basics of domination with the resolve and pointed questioning required if domination is to be erased.

BY JOHN ZERZAN

Suggested Readings:

Anything Can Happen by Fredy Perlman (A collection of essays on themes ranging from authoritarianism, nationalism, and industrialism) *Phoenix Press*

Marxism and Native Americans edited by Ward Churchill (A provocative dialogue amongst native activists and Marxists) *South End Press*

Industrial Society and Its Future (The Unabomber Manifesto) by F. C. (While offering an excellent critique of technology, industrial society, and the left, it is lacking in other regards) *GA Distro*

Anarchy After Leftism by Bob Black (A great debunking of leftist anarchists, although we are discouraged by his dismissal of feminism) *CAL Press*

Anti-Mass: Methods Of Organization For Collectives (arguments against mass organization in favor of more autonomous action) *GA Distro*

Elements of Refusal, Future Primitive, and Running on Emptiness by John Zerzan (Compilations of some of John's critical essays on the Left and civilization) *GA Distro*

Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed (an excellent long-running post-leftist magazine which comes out twice a year) PO Box 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, www.anarchymag.org

The Irrational In Politics by Maurice Brinton (An extremely in-depth application of Reich's theories of sexual repression to the former Soviet Union) See *Sharp Press*

This World We Must Leave by Jacques Camatte (anthology of essays critiquing leftist political rackets by a far-left anti-state communist) *Autonomia*

* Don't forget to check out the *GA Distro*

IT'D FEEL SO FUNNY TO BE FREE

i've been thinking a lot about rape and rape culture lately. reading one-in-four statistics, running back over my life and realizing just how damn much the way i've lived has been affected by the basic assumption that i am not safe _____. that's the ultimate defining difference, i think, between those of us socialized as girls and as boys – we are told that, regardless of our identities, strengths, skills, we as vagina-bearing citizens are vulnerable. physically vulnerable. we are told this by everyone, from veteran uncles to our mothers to radical feminists. it is, in our culture, fact. the best we can do, we learn, is hope for the best and take self-defense classes.

now, i grew up more or less apart from other gender-based limits – i was never discouraged in academics, hobbies, relationships, style of dress, or possible careers based on my gender – so i never realized how much the constant refrain of “you are at risk!” affected me as a female until i try to look at my life with the opposite assumption.

what a beautiful way to restrict women's movement and sense of their lives' possible scope! to keep them from the feeling of self-sufficiency! to make them fear their own company! to make them dependent on every possible facade of patriarchy, from consumerism to police presence to gentrification to the reassurance of hierarchy to a strong military to, on the personal level, having a man to walk you home so he can walk back alone himself in safety.

when it comes down to it, a person who is constantly, if subconsciously, under the influence of fear is going to extend themselves less in all their pursuits, ask less dangerous

questions, even if there is no immediate link to the source of the fear. physical security over abstract freedom, almost every time. pick a fear and you can follow this pattern over and over again. it's one reason why us anarchopunks are mainly white kids with parents who, whether or not we believe they are a fallback system now, took care that we didn't experience true material lack in our childhoods. we don't know what it's like, chronically, to be hungry, so we don't fear it. and in that freedom from fear we feel bold enough to try any number of our stunts. vague, unarticulated, built into the hurry of heels over blacktop, or murmured at the water cooler; fear is far more effective than brick at keeping people from seeking or seeing, questioning their exploitation, or anything else that approaches the exercise of actual freedom.

had the story gone instead “you are safe, lisa, just as bryn is, just as most men are, to make any decision without considering the possible impulses of known and unknown men,” i would have lived so fucking differently. it's one thing to be robbed, and another entirely to be raped... gender is often the deciding factor between those two outcomes. lord knows, i would have at least been hitchhiking alone by now. traveling through africa alone, walking across the us, sleeping in alleyways. riding trains in solitude. the way i want to live at this point is severely limited by the rationale that i am going to ‘put myself into dangerous situations.’ why isn't the responsibility for creating a dangerous situation put on those who would rape? it's just a rewording of the argument that a short skirt meant she wanted it,

with the accompanying reassignment of blame. i want to refuse both the blame and the limitations of fear now. i want to both start and finish the years of this woman's life it has and will take to expel this shit from inside me. in that sense, the system has won.

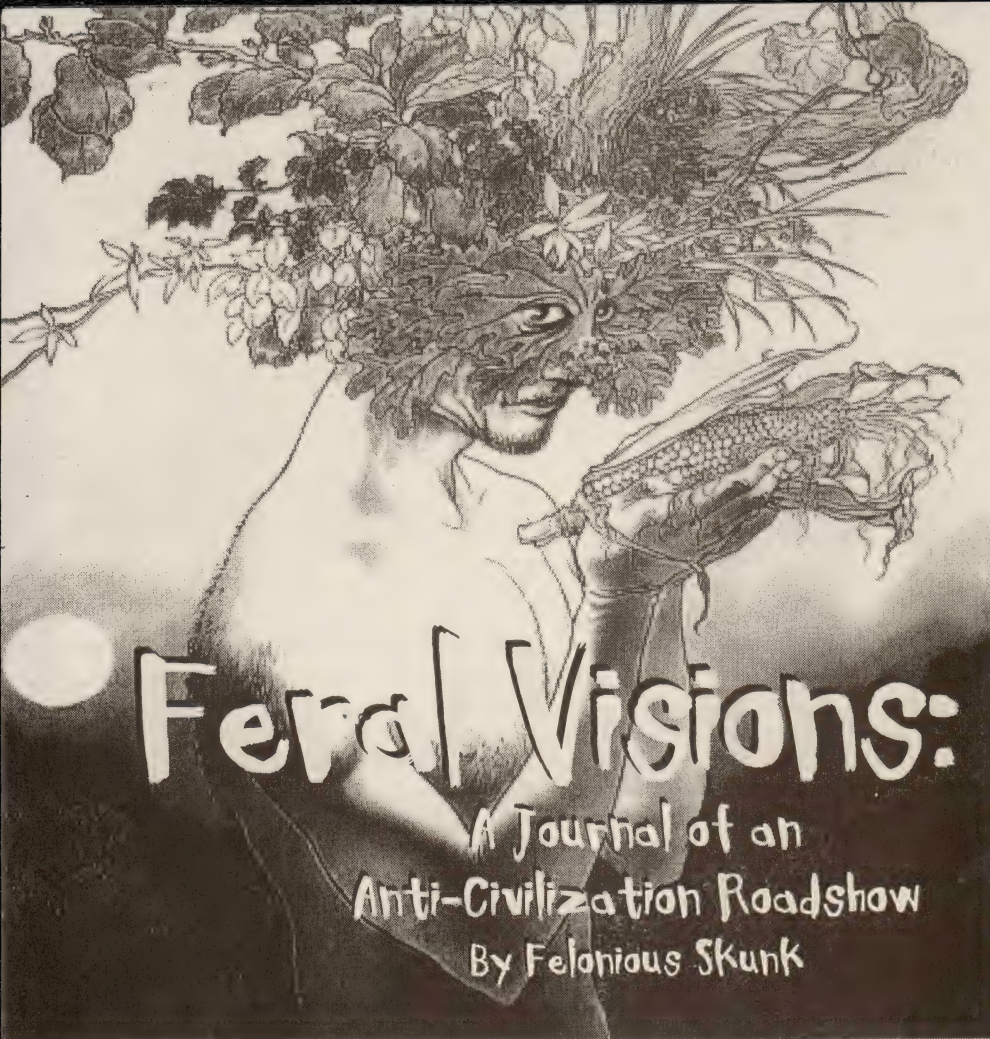
so here is what it comes down to. i personally am much better at coping with something negative if i consider it an eventuality, rather than a possibility. so in order to free myself from the constant weighing of risk, and from missing out on a whole host of life experiences simply because of men's violence and feelings of entitlement... i'm going to opt for acceptance. i know that i alone cannot change the whole culture enough to make women at large, or myself individually, safe from attack. but what i can do to bring peace into my own mind is to assume that i will be raped, and to shift all that worrying energy into productively facing the question:

what will my rape be like?

it's so much easier to manage fear of the known than the unknown. accepting the eventuality of one's own rape like a scared pregnant woman must face the reality of her impending birth. a sort of women's lib for our modern times. so while i've got a great big fuck-you for the culture that makes half its citizenry live under this fear, or choose to accept something so insipid, and while i salute those who fight rape culture every day, and most certainly while i've got some tricks up my sleeve for the men who will try it... i am going to trade vague and constant fear for resigned preparation.

my rape will be awful. but worse would be a failure to live free, and fully alive, because i was afraid of it.





FERAL VISIONS WAS A MULTIMEDIA SPEAKING TOUR of the Northeast by two eco-anarchists: one of the editors of *Green Anarchy*, from Eugene, Oregon, and a founder of *Wildroots Rewilding Project* near Asheville, North Carolina. We spent almost three weeks on the road, meeting new people, discussing anti-civilization theory and practice, showing radical videos, and challenging each other.

The tour began in conflict with the (Canadian) State. After all night on a plane to Toronto from the west coast, I was the only person who was sent to Immigration. I explained that I was there to meet a friend and hang out for a week and then to visit family in the States, but that was not sufficient. I was told that I would be sent back home. After being harassed about my "look" and asked repeatedly whether I belonged to any organization (obviously unaware that I am anti-organizationalist) and whether I protest (to which I finally admitted that I once attended a Ralph Nader rally), they phoned the person I was to stay with and interrogated her for an hour. She did not hold up well, and said I would be speaking at an anarchist bookfair! This, added to the fact that neither of us knew each other's real name, did not help the situation. But after two hours of arguing, pleading and promising that I would not blow anything up, burn anything down, or get a job (I knew I

would be able to uphold at least one of those promises), they let me in. Once in Canada, we rendezvoused with local anarchists, and my fellow Feral Visionary, who wasn't even asked for I.D. when she drove over the border.

We headed about two hours northeast of Toronto to meet up with Ann Hansen, of the '80s Canadian anarchist group Direct Action. She is probably the most unassuming and down-to-earth person I have met within the anarchist/activist world. She is a frenzy of energy and full of amazing stories of the underground, prison, and the work she's currently doing – prisoner support and advocacy, including a project with other ex-prisoners to start a post-release transitional home for women. We'd been corresponding for almost two years, and it was great to finally connect with a true kindred spirit. She said that she basically identifies as a green anarchist these days, and has not compromised her revolutionary dedication, even on lifetime parole (never being able to leave the country and under constant surveillance). It was here in Kingston (the town Ann cannot leave without written permission from her P.O.) that we gave our first talk to a very enthusiastic crowd.

After a hike and discussions in the woods, we headed back to Toronto, where the organizers of the bookfair/conference put on a Surrealist Video Showing at a local theatre, which included

archival and contemporary films inspired by the Situationists. The feature, to our surprise, was Erik Gandini's *Surplus*, the film we would be showing on our tour. The bookfair was an interesting and well-attended event, and there were many enthusiastic people coming to our table. We were asked to give a workshop on "Anarchism 101", of course flavored with anti-civilization tones. The organizers said that they had always had "red" anarchists give the workshop, and were looking for a fresh perspective. By the way, Toronto has lots of open-minded anarchists, some of whom have started a "Free University" in which full semester courses are given to anyone interested. They were in the middle of a course on the Russian Revolution (among others) while we were there. The following day, we gave a talk on "Green Anarchy/Anarcho-Primitivism" and enjoyed our last day in Canada.

At the border, they made us go into Customs and then searched our car, finding lots of anarchist literature (including the *E.L.F. Primer* and the *Unabomber Manifesto*) and lots of videos (*Fuck the System*, etc). They asked us what *Green Anarchy* is, and whether it advocates the overthrow of the U.S. government (to which I could honestly say "no" since that would be reformist, compared to the complete destruction of civilization), scanned through the videos, and scrolled down the *Green Anarchy* website. Finally, after almost two hours of waiting, they decided to let us back into the country.

Over the next few days we gave talks in Buffalo (New York), Brattleboro (Vermont), Portland (Maine), and finally the destination of most anticipation, Boston. It was here that we had our long-awaited debate with a member of the North Eastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC). It was generally a friendly discussion in which we each gave a half-hour presentation on our particular anarchist visions, followed by a brief rebuttal period, and a long question and answer session. Being Boston, the epicenter for North American anarcho-commies, the room was filled with "red" anarchists, most being respectful and open. We came to general agreement that there is some common ground (at least in rhetoric), and it was good to actually debate what one another was in fact advocating, not the cartoon caricatures we make of each other in our respective scenes, publications, and (most annoyingly) internet discussion boards. It was also a good flushing out of our differences, which are huge.

It became clear that the anarcho-communist vision of the world (at least that espoused by NEFAC) is not that dissimilar from what we have now, complete with technological grids, factories, and political organization, only more egalitarian (but for whom?). The idea of infrastructural damage brought fear to the NEFACer. "How do we know you will not come for our water treatment center?" To which I assured him that I didn't think that it would be high on any anarchist's agenda, but shouldn't

we be questioning the world we live in which makes us dependent on this artificial apparatus to survive? He was more concerned with tenant strikes, making sure his plumbing was working, and the need to grow the federation. Basically, they do not want to ask some very serious questions about the overall set-up of this system, and are only really concerned with developing a new management scheme. The final words of our red friend, was that the vision of living without civilization is just too scary, that we cannot expect people to join us unless we offer them security. To which I responded, that the closest thing anyone can offer people as far as security goes is either a totalitarian state (socialist, communist, or capitalist), OR, the knowledge and ability to tear down all institutions which prevent us from taking responsibility for procurement of physical nourishment and satisfaction in our own decentralized



communities. Before leaving Boston, we celebrated Halloween at a NEFAC party, which I attended dressed up as a zombie worker (complete with work clothes, tools, my unread copy of *Northeastern Anarchist*, and my Wobbly pin which read "UNIONS, the people who brought you the eight-hour work day!").

We went on to give an "Intro to Anarchy" talk at a Consulta Conference for Miami at Yale, and

more talks in Easthampton (Massachusetts), the Free Skool in Albany (New York), Princeton (New Jersey), and finally at James Madison University in Harrisonburg (Virginia). After a brief stay at *Wildroots*, a new anarchist land/rewilding project outside of Asheville, NC, I got back into another flying tin can headed (eventually) for Eugene. Overall, we were able to connect with many old friends, meet many new ones, and share our particular anti-civilization critique with many interested and enthusiastic folks. Hope to see you soon in your bioregion!

NOTE: We are always looking for speaking gigs, discussions, or conferences to participate in. Let us know if you can help (collective@greenanarchy.org, wildrootscnc@zipilip.com, or bandgnet@yahoo.com). We are also beginning to organize "Feral Visions Against Civilization: The 2nd Annual Black and Green Gathering" to take place in Oregon next summer. (See page 70 for details.)

THE GARDEN OF PECULIARITIES

by Jesus Sepúlveda

Fragment 18

In every epoch militants have wondered what the revolution will be like and what will happen after it comes to pass. Maybe this future—near or immediate—will not be as bloody or implacable as some prophets have visualized it. Maybe it will be as calm as a fertile and fresh stream, as a meadow. Maybe it will be like a garden cultivated with patience and hands that distinguish the peculiarity of every strain of plant.

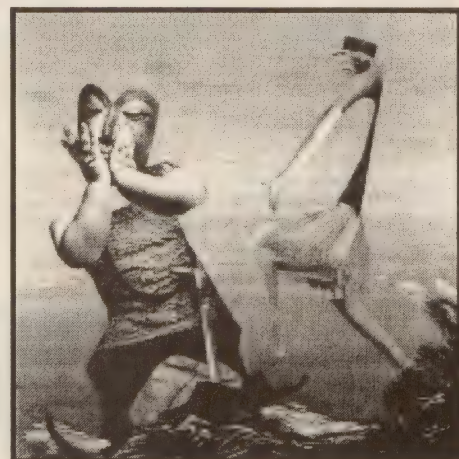
The garden of peculiarities manifests itself in a way that some confuse with identity. Identity conforms itself in a reflexive and reactive way with relation to models that integrate dominant identifying categories. These categories form parts of a map: the North-South axis, Latin America, Africa, First World, etc. These are the symbolic categories of civilizing order. In the same way, these categories are constructed according to structural patterns. This is how standardization functions. Identity then reflects a series of other identities that are erected as paradigms, but which in practice are imposed on the subject without prior warning: nationality, race, class, sexuality, ideology, language, mother, father, etc. These notions—generally taken for granted and which the individual learns almost through osmosis—are the labels of standardization.

Identity is the act of identifying with something, making oneself identical, whether it be a type, model, norm, pattern, level, or reference. Standardization adjusts itself to the model, it typifies. Peculiarity, on the other hand, delves into those subjective zones that situate the subject as a whole that inhabits totality and relates with as many other subjects as there are peculiarities. The notion of peculiarity dismantles the structure of power, which promotes homogenization and authoritarianism because it does not

fit in the hierarchical order or the sickness of competition. The subject is capable of relating to all of the other creatures of the planet without the necessity of standardizing anyone. Recognizing peculiarity in other creatures permits coexistence. It dispels the mental module molded by the iron mask of instrumental reason. If one carefully observes the peculiarity of another, the subject does not complete the process of otherization because the understanding that the other is as peculiar as oneself, who constitutes the subject and the totality, is revealed. To recognize that the other is nothing more than an I, another peculiar being that also exists in the world, is liberating.

Through otherization, the other is reified, whether a human, or the environment. This mechanism of reification fragments the internal subject, displaced from its totality since birth. When the self and everything conform into one totality, reification disappears. Then, the subject—which constitutes the peculiarity of a being—learns the magic of artistic appreciation. This substitutes the module of instrumental reason and poses a new challenge: aesthetic reason.

This does not negate the necessity of creating identity blocks in order to resist the cultural, economic, and military penetration of the civilizing order. In fact—from a political point of view—subordinate identities and liberation movements exist. A clear example are the movements of the ethnic minorities in the First World, the indigenous movement in Latin America, movements for the liberty of sexual choice, the feminist movement, the workers movement, separatist and anti-neocolonial movements, the urban anarchist resistance, the squatters movement, movements against neoliberal globalization, the ecological and green movement, human rights organizations, artistic movements, rebel movements, etc. In other words, problematizing identity as a notion is arguable from the point of view



of anti-authoritarian movements that oppose resistance to the process of standardization. However, from a political point of view as well, it is preferable to understand these movements as constellations of peculiarities inhabiting the garden of reality and resist the sorties of the instrumental steamroller. The ideological machine of standardization homogenizes with its titles of identity. When the garden dismantles hierarchy, every aroma, every color, every form, every taste and every ripple create a landscape whose unique and unrepeatable drive opens the doors to appreciation of beauty. This substitutes the module of instrumental reason for an aesthetic vision that radically displaces the utilitarian and functional logic of the system. It is the first step toward the peculiarization of the world. And it not only opens the mind and disconnects the human brain from the machine of ideology, but it also breaks the shop windows of all commercial chains, negates authority and shouts with a clear and pristine voice, ENOUGH!

Translation by Daniel Montero
Edited by Janine Sepúlveda & Jesús Sepúlveda

The Caressing Intrusion of the Beast! The Wild Ones Fight Back!

A new wave of animal monkeywrenching has broken out all over Gaia and in recent months, a number of disgruntled, renegade beasts have won small victories against the Industrial Machine and human domination. From seagulls attacking golfers to beavers toppling telephone poles, from rioting zoo prisoners to anti-government monkeys heckling politicians in the halls of the Indonesian Parliament, non-humyn avatars of chaos are revealing the bare essence of the struggle for freedom and wildness, stripped of all intellectual baggage and ideological pretensions. Living in the space between control and chaos, and struggling within the tensions that result from their interaction, wild fauna and flora exist outside the technological matrix in a realm now unknown to most humyns—a realm that's boundaries are vague or non-existent, its contents not entirely mapped and inventoried, and its inhabitants elusive. It is through this clash between civilization and wildness that green anarchists can observe and learn from the guerrilla strategies of our estranged, outlaw relatives, who fight against containment out of an instinctual lust for life and not out of allegiance to abstract ideas or belief systems...

September 19:

Captive Fish Cause Fire At Japanese House

TOKYO—Captive tropical fish are believed to have caused a fire at a Japanese house, fire brigade officials said, warning against the use of electrical plugs near fishtanks. "It is an extremely rare case, but the fish are believed to be the culprits," said an official at the Nogata fire station in Tokyo. "We assume the fish leapt and splashed water onto an extension socket, which was used for lighting the tanks." The water is then believed to have produced sparks that ignited the fire.

September 23, China:

Flock of Birds Delays 100 Flights

BEIJING—A large flock of swallows, which refused to disperse for incoming planes at the Beijing International Airport, caused more than 100 flights to be delayed. The birds were blocking the air space about 100 meters above one of the airport's two runways, making it impossible for planes to land. Air traffic "experts" say that the birds could have caused the plane's engines to malfunction if they were sucked in, which could lead to plane crashes. This led to airport officials redirecting flights to airports in other cities, some as far away as Jinan in eastern Shandong province and Zhengzhou in central China's Henan province.



September 25, Maine:

Bear Hunter Attacked by Moose

A bear hunter from the town of Newry is recovering from serious injuries after being attacked by a 900-pound moose in western Maine. Jim Osgood said he was bear hunting with a friend when the bull charged him and picked him up with his antlers. Osgood was knocked unconscious. Osgood's friend tried to stop the moose from stomping Osgood but had to run for cover under a pickup truck. Osgood is now recovering from a broken collarbone and broken bones in his face and is expected to be out of work for 10 weeks.

September 26, Indonesia:

Monkey Loose Inside Parliament

JAKARTA—A monkey is on the loose inside a building housing Indonesia's parliamentary leaders, according to a report we received in late September. Dozens of government flunkies, including security officers, have been unable to catch the feral primate, which was staking out its territory inside a medical clinic on the eighth-floor of a parliamentary office tower. The building itself is home to Amien Rais, speaker of the People's Conservative Assembly, and the House of Representatives, which is on the third floor. It is unknown how the monkey got into the legislative offices. The animal has damaged medical bottles and equipment in the State clinic but everytime security forces try to catch it or chase it away, the monkey climbs onto the ceiling.

November, India:

Monkey Business Now the Norm in New Delhi

NEW DELHI—In a capital city where cows roam the streets and elephants plod along in the bus lanes, it's no surprise to find government buildings overrun with monkeys. But the state officials who work there are fed up. They've been bitten, robbed and otherwise tormented by monkeys that ransack files, bring down power lines, screech at visitors and bang on office windows. "Please do not feed the monkeys," implores a sign at

Raisina Hill, the complex of colonnaded buildings that includes the president's residence, Parliament, and Cabinet offices. To no avail. Hindus believe that monkeys are manifestations of the monkey god, Hanuman, and worshippers come to Raisina Hill every Tuesday handing out bananas. Last year the monkeys made their presence felt by hanging from window ledges and screeching at reporters arriving for a news conference with visiting U.S. Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld. "It's a big problem, especially in the evening," says Defense Ministry spokesman Amitabha Chakrabarti. Monkeys break into offices at night and paw through the files looking

for food, he said. "Those who work late hours have to be careful when it is dark." The Wildlife Institute of India says the monkeys belong in the forests, but deforestation and human settlements are driving them into the cities in search of food. The monkeys have become crafty pickpockets, know how to open refrigerators, and brazenly snatch lunch pails from government workers. The answer, says the Wildlife Institute of India, is to save the forests. Otherwise, "the problem will get worse."

November, Illinois:

Wolf Prisoner Killed After Visitor is Attacked

CHICAGO—A northern gray wolf was shot to death at Brookfield Zoo after it seized the arm of a woman who jumped a fence to reach inside its cage, the first time in the zoo's 69-year history that an animal attacked a visitor, zoo wardens said. The 11-year-old wolf (born in captivity and "raised" at the zoo) was shot once in the chest by a zoo police officer after the 100-pound animal clamped down on the woman's arm—and refused to let go. A zoo photographer driving a golf cart along a nearby access road heard the woman screaming, hurried to the scene and called police. A veteran zoo cop arrived within two minutes and "quickly determined" that it would take too long to tranquilize the animal. So he instead drew his .45-caliber pistol and fired point-blank. Though Brookfield Zoo has not had previous animal attacks, it has had its share of animal mutinies. In August 1969, a group of polar bears escaped from their pen across a flooded moat and headed straight for a nearby marshmallow stand. The bears were quickly rounded up and returned to their cages.

November 11, Pennsylvania:

Lone Deer Wages Private "Anti-Agriculture" War!

MILLERTOWN—A deer that chased a farmer for about a half-mile is speculated to be the same buck that has harassed and threatened other farmers this fall. Gene Robbins, a Pennsylvania farmer, says that a seven-point buck chased him out of his cultivated field and into his neighbor's garage. Is this the case of an uppity animal not knowing its place within the human-created hierarchy of species, or could it instead be viewed as an act of land reclamation?



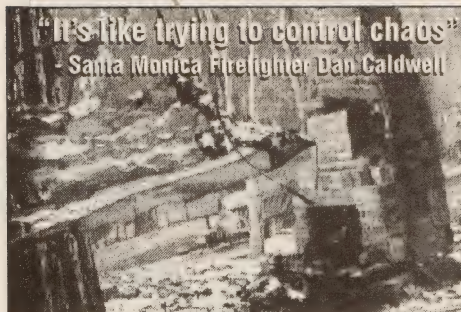
October 4, Nevada:

Tiger Attacks Roy Horn of 'Siegfried & Roy'

LAS VEGAS—A 7-year-old white tiger attacked Roy Horn of Siegfried and Roy during a performance on the Las Vegas strip on the magician and trainer's 59th birthday. The tiger lunged at Horn's neck about half-way through the show and dragged him off stage, audience members said. "He looked like a rag doll in his mouth," said Kirk Baser, from Pennsylvania.

Emergency officials arrived at the MGM Mirage Hotel-Casino and treated Horn for massive blood loss before he was rushed to University Medical Center for emergency surgery. Horn was talking at the time emergency workers arrived but had trouble breathing, Clark County Fire spokesman Bob Leinbach said.

Audience members were shocked to realize the attack was not part of an illusion or magic trick. "We just heard all this commotion behind the curtain and you could hear Roy scream. You could tell Siegfried was really shook up, and he just said, 'I'm sorry but the show is over, and you know, the show has been canceled.' Everyone there I think, thought it was part of the act, because no one really freaked out. When it grabbed him and dragged him off the stage, I thought maybe it was like some magic trick where they switch a rag doll or something."



Fall 2003:

Wildfires Incinerate Southern Kalifornia!

The fragility of Empire was once again revealed last Fall when six major wildfires knocked back at least 750,000 acres of civilized sprawl in San Diego, San Bernadino, Ventura, Riverside, and Los Angeles counties. The 281,000 acre Cedar fire – the largest individual blaze in California history – cleansed the earth of 2,232 (mostly upper-class suburban) homes and 515 outbuildings and served as a fiery reminder that everything is transitory, including the plastic, anthropogenic settlements of the techno-industrial system.

Animal Liberation Actions

Sept 3, UK: HLS Homes Targeted

"On Friday night we attacked the house of an F2 Chemicals director in Lancashire who has been visited repeatedly in recent months. Paint bombs filled with red paint were thrown at his house and vehicle despite the presence of security at his house. Until F2 Chemicals and Asahi Glass sever their links with HLS, there will be no stopping the ALF. For the animals suffering and dying inside HLS whose murders are funded and paid for by monsters like this man we will fight until the bitter end, for the destruction of HLS - ALF"

Sept 4, UK: Fur Farm Feed Factory Arson

According to Norwegian media, a fur farm feed producer, Fossland Pelsdyrtfor BA in Otterbya, Norway, was attacked by the Norwegian ALF, DFF, on the night to Monday September 1st. The fur farm feed factory burned down totally and the damage is estimated to several millions of Norwegian krona. This is the 4th arson attack against fur farm feed producers in Norway this year.

Sept 7, Italy: Arson Attack on HLS Client

At about 5:30 am on 28th July 2003, a car was set alight in the car park adjacent to the Yamanouchi offices in Carrugate, Italy. This resulted in damage to an electricity box supplying electricity to those offices and no power was available to the office for the entire day. Banners were displayed on the fences around the car park with slogans saying 'stop working with HLS' and 'stop vivisection'.

October 3: Just Charge It!

Chiron Director Edward Penhoet and VP Martin Forrest have \$25,000 charged on their credit cards. New appliances, computer equipment, and Celine Dion are overnighted to their homes!

Dec 13, Russia: HLS Website Hacked

"We also want to help you very much, but we stay in Russia and we are not able to visit UK at this time. So we are focused on electronic attack on HLS."

- 1) *We are sucefully attacked HLS website. You know about it. It is almost unreachable. And we will increase our attack very soon.*
- 2) *We are sucefully attacked HLS e-mails. Currently @huntingdon.com recieve 100000 e-mails per 24 hours. It is fully automatically, so we can do it for a very long time."*

Dec 15, Finland: Fur Farm Storage Burnt to the Ground

A fur farm storage building has burned down completely in Veteli, Finland. The fire department got to the farm at 2:30 pm. where they were able to get the fire under control. The fire department had to get back to the farm later that evening because fire started again. Fire caused tens of thousands euros worth of damage.

Dec 18: Christmas ALF Style - Security Vehicles Attacked

"A Christmas message to all those who deal with Huntingdon Life Sciences from the ALF. We do not rest at this time of year!!

ADT provide security for both HLS labs. ADT Secretary in Harrow, Middx had cars paintstripped, locks glued and tyres punctured. Property doesn't feel pain unlike the animals you help torture. Would you have provided security for the camps of Auschwitz too?

Stop providing security for the animals' hellhole or we will be back. You are on the top of our list. You have been warned. ALF"



Although we have no problem with subsistence hunting or scavenging (meat eating for survival), as an anarchist collective we are completely opposed to factory farming, vivisection, and the torture and enslavement of other species. We also feel that many animal liberation actions have strategic value to a variety of movements. This is only a sampling of the almost daily actions within the animal liberation movement. For more details on these and other actions, check out:

www.DirectAction.info,
www.briefs@nocompromise.org,
www.SHACAmerica.net,
 and Ark Angel's web-site.

"Can the pleasures we are permitted compare with those spicier attractions, those inappreciable pleasures which are connected to the rupture of social restraints and the throwing out of all laws?"

— Poster from *the Sorbonne*, May 14th, 1968

Give 'Em Enough Rope!

Broke Down Engines, Barbecued Kops, and Further Symptoms of the System's Meltdown

August 15, Scandinavia:

MSBlast Worm Takes Down Major Bank

Scandinavia's largest bank, Nordea, has become the biggest European victim of the MSBlast worm. The bank was forced to close 80 branches across Finland after the computer infection found its way into servers in all 400 of the bank's offices. Pete Simpson, manager of ThreatLab, said: "I'm surprised they were caught out. From the number of branch closures and the apparent extent of the problem it doesn't seem as though this is a one off. It would appear to suggest there was something fundamentally wrong with the IT security procedures which were in place."

September 12, British Columbia:

Police under Siege in Vancouver

The Vancouver Police Department (VPD) is telling the corporate media that young men are increasingly challenging and assaulting Vancouver cops. Vancouver pig Dave Jones says six cops have been injured on Granville Street in one month, one of whom suffered a concussion when a young male attacked him. The VPD's explanation for the rise in anti-police violence is that kids are being influenced by violent video games that give you extra points for killing cops. More likely, kids like beating up on cops and that's why they find the games so entertaining. Cops have been attacked in several instances in Vancouver, resulting in split lips, bruises and loose teeth for the pigs. One major incident broke out when two pigs were harassing a panhandler. Four men approached the cops and challenged them aggressively. When the cops tried to arrest one of the men, they were beaten. In early August police were ambushed and attacked at the Vancouver International Fireworks Competition. On "Canada Day", youths threw bottles at cops in the town of Cloverdale, BC.

September 23:

Computer Virus Strikes U.S. State Department

@ computer virus has hit the US Department of State, affecting the performance of the government's IT system that manages visa approvals. (The virus shut down the State Department's "Consular Lookout and Support System" (CLASS). A State Department representative reached by Silicon.com sister site CNET news.com would not confirm that the system had crashed but indicated that IT personnel were working on a problem. The State Department eventually provided more details of the incident; according to spokesperson Joanne Moore, at 4:30 am Tuesday morning, the department IT workers discovered that the "Welchia" virus had infected their system.

Welchia is an aggressive infection released a month prior that exploits a software flaw in recent versions of Microsoft's Windows software. Collectively, Welchia and a related virus, "Blaster," have infected hundreds of thousands of computers

worldwide, including computers at the Federal Reserve in Atlanta, Maryland's motor vehicle agency and the Minnesota Transportation Department. The "Welchia" virus crippled the U.S. State Department's Consular Lookout and Support System (CLASS), which contains more than 12.8 million records from the FBI, the State Department and US immigration, drug enforcement and intelligence agencies. Among the names are those of at least 78,000 suspected terrorists. The State Department has invested heavily in the CLASS system since the September 11 WTC attacks, more than doubling the number of names that applicants are checked against. One provision of the Patriot Act added FBI records, including the bureau's "violent gang" and "terrorist" database.

October 15, Canada:

Cancelled Punk Show Turns Into A Real Riot in Montreal

There's only one news section in *Green Anarchy* where this item belongs and that's "*Further Symptoms of the System's Meltdown!*" Angered by the cancellation of a punk rock concert dozens of young people smashed windows and overturned cars, setting them ablaze. The young punks rioted after they were told that the groups Total Chaos and The Exploited wouldn't be performing. Some members of The Exploited were refused entry into the country by Canada Customs. Hundreds of young punks were waiting on the street for about 45 minutes before the fun began. Several then picked up material from a nearby construction site and hurled the items at cars and windows. Minutes later, at least four cars were overturned and set on fire, flames shooting out the side windows as firefighters directed streams of water at them. A one-block area was littered with 24 cars that had their windows smashed. Some of the rioters grabbed a computer from one of the stores and hurled it at a car. The windows of at least six stores were smashed.

October 19, Istanbul (Turkey)—Three cops were injured by Molotov firebombs in an ambush in the center of the city. Another Molotov firebomb was launched at the headquarters of the Party of Justice and Development.

October 20:

Romania Emerges as New World Nexus of Cybercrime

It was nearly 70 degrees below zero outside, but an email on a computer at the South Pole Research Center sent a different kind of chill through the scientists inside. "I've hacked into the server. Pay me off or I'll sell the station's data to another country and tell the world how vulnerable you are," the message warned. Proving it was no hoax, the message included scientific data showing that the extortionist had freely roamed around the server,

which controlled the 50 researchers' life-support systems. The FBI traced the email to an Internet café in Bucharest and helped Romanian police arrest two locals—the latest evidence that computer-savvy Romanians are fast emerging as a bold menace in the shadowy world of "Cybercrime." "It's one of the leading places for this kind of activity," said Gabrielle Burger, who runs the FBI's office in Bucharest and is working with Romanian law-enforcement to arrest hackers and "avoid the Sept. 11 of Cybercrime." Law enforcement documents obtained by the Associated Press portray a loosely organized but increasingly aggressive network of young Romanians conspiring with accomplices in Europe and the United States to steal millions of dollars each year from upper-class citizens and companies. Their specialties: extorting cash from businesses after hacking into their systems, and designing and releasing computer-crippling worms and viruses. Alarmed officials say the South Pole case underscores the global impact of this new breed of cyber-outlaw. "Frustrated with the employment possibilities offered in Romania, some of the world's most talented computer students are exploiting their talents online," says the FBI and the National White Collar Crime Center in a new report. This past summer, Romanian pigs (aided by the FBI) arrested six other young Romanians in the Transylvania town of Sibiu after they successfully extorted \$50,000 from several leading American corporations, which were not identified.



October-November, Pacific Northwest: FBI Investigates the Damaging of Electrical Transmission Towers; Has Suspect in Captivity

Throughout the month of October the FBI and police agencies in four western states were looking for a Spokane, Washington, man suspected of "tinkering" with high-voltage electrical transmission towers at several locations in Oregon and Northern California. Bolts were loosened or removed from the legs of transmission towers in at least four locations: Madras, McNary and Klamath Falls in Oregon and Anderson in Northern California. The FBI very quickly issued a federal arrest warrant for Michael Devlyn Poulin, 62, charging him with destroying an energy facility, which carries up to a 20-year prison sentence. Poulin became the prime suspect after he was spotted

driving away from the scene of the California incident in a distinctive gray pickup truck with a white shell and some system-loving snitch reported his license plate number. Two weeks later, reportedly tired of life on the lam, Poulin surrendered to authorities. Poulin told the Associated Press in a lengthy telephone interview, prior to his arrest, that he'd grown tired of "dodging the law." Poulin said he'd tried unsuccessfully to arrange his surrender for two weeks, but the Feds gave him too few details about the legal circumstances that awaited him. Though Poulin admitted no guilt to the charges he faces, he said his actions at the transmission towers were necessary to "highlight vulnerabilities to the power infrastructure"—a system that could be breached easily, he added. "We have a situation of one person, one wrench. The person in question is 62 years old, over-weight, arthritic, half-blind and a cancer patient living on a minimum of 12 pills a day," Poulin said, describing himself. Poulin said the Bush administration's heavy-handed search for terrorists abroad overlooked domestic security weak points. Poulin's ridiculous ploy to portray himself as a "true patriot" and "servant of his country" (along with his lame civil disobedience-type defense) are disappointing, but whatever his real motives, he did indeed prove a point—that the technological infrastructure is *highly vulnerable*, something anarchists might consider.

October 21, New Delhi (India)—A crowd of people attacked a police station after a young boy was arrested and beaten to death by police. 12 pigs were injured.

**October 26, Jamaica:
Riot Erupts After Police Shooting**

MONTEGO BAY—Thousands of Jamaicans rioted near Montego Bay's airport, burning buses and blocking roads to protest the killings of two elderly men by police in an alleged shootout. Police fired guns in the air and used tear gas to disperse the rioters, who numbered about 4,000, but the crowds regrouped, tossing bottles at pigs and preventing them from moving burned vehicles from the roadways.

October 28, Zhoucheng (China)—Thousands of people broke through a line of 800 police to attack a Communist party office, broke down doors and trashed equipment inside. Citizens were enraged after city officials had confiscated an elderly man's vending wagon and then run him over, killing him, the day before. 200 people were arrested after the rebellion.

October 29, Palermo (Italy)—Hundreds of people assaulted a patrol of police officers with chairs, sticks and other objects, while they were arresting a boy in the Zen district. Two pigs were injured in the clashes.

**November 5:
Gangs Assault Police Stations in Brazil**

Brazilian gang members sprayed two police stations with machine-gun fire in the eighth day of attacks against Sao Paulo's government. Two men on a motorcycle fired 40 machine-gun rounds at a precinct station in Osasco, a suburb of Sao Paulo, and an unknown number of gang members pumped 14 rounds into a police station in Campinas, 62 miles west of the city. No one was hurt. State Security Secretary Saulo de Abreu said the attacks are part of a drive by imprisoned gang leaders to

improve their prison conditions. Police planned to interrogate two leaders of the organized crime gang known as the First Capital Command.

November 7, Marugame (Japan)—Three 14-year-olds and a 12-year-old were arrested and taken into protective custody after throwing four Molotov firebombs at the home of the principal of their junior high school.

**November 8, Oregon:
Bonneville Power Administration Posts
Reward in Series of Break-ins**

The Bonneville Power Administration is offering a reward of up to \$25,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for breaking into a microwave communication site in western Lane County. Three times in the last year, burglars have hit the facility at Goodwin Peak in the Coast Range, about 10 miles east of Florence. The break-ins have resulted in stolen and vandalized communications equipment, with losses estimated at \$2,200. The BPA uses the site to relay voice and data signals as part of its power grid operations. The incidents at Goodwin Peak are similar to other break-ins at nonfederal communication sites within a 30-to-50 mile radius.

**November 9, United States:
New \$20 Bill Already Being Counterfeited!**

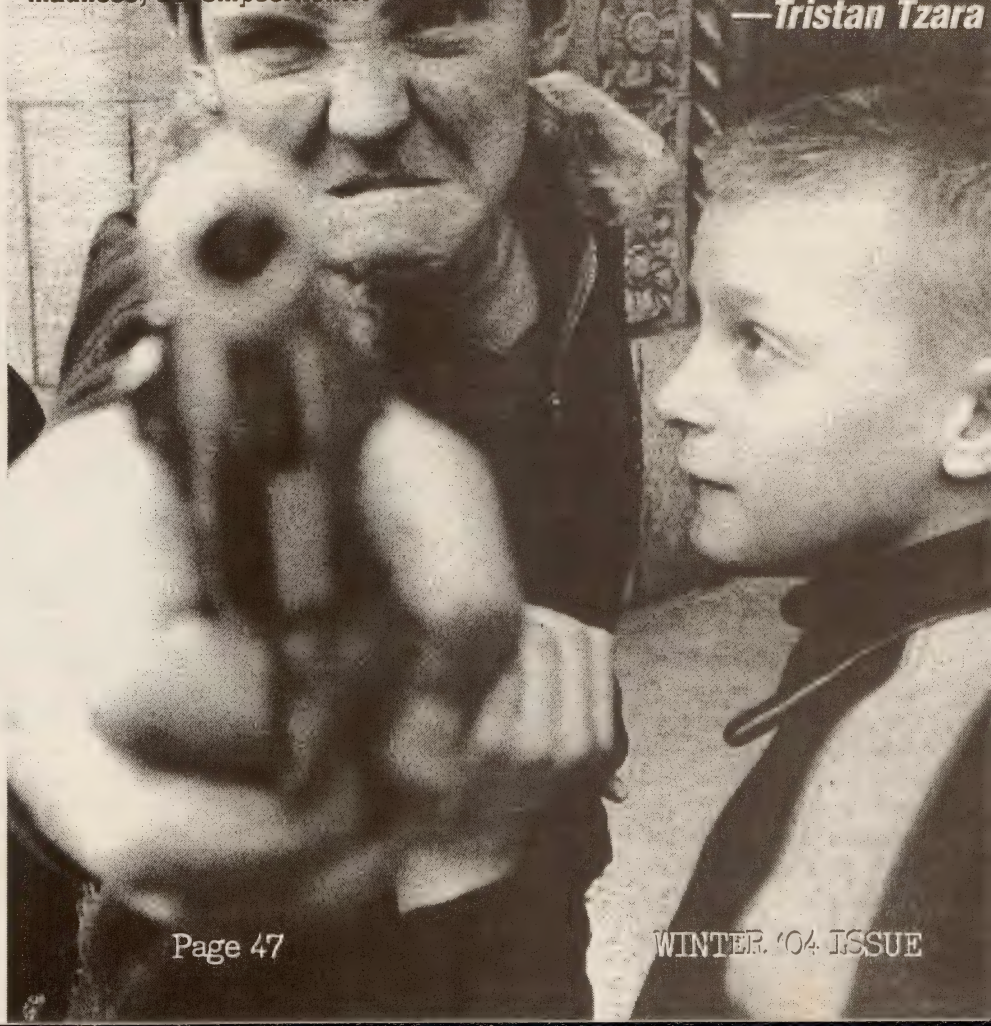
Only a month after the rollout of retooled \$20 bills meant to thwart counterfeiters, facsimile copies of the colorized currency are popping up everywhere. So far, nine people have been arrested nationwide in cases involving attempted counterfeits of the new bill. U.S. Secret Service spokesperson Jean Mitchell said that at least 200 bogus versions of the new \$20 bill have surfaced.

Bullet Wounds KKK Initiation Participant

JOHNSON CITY, TN—A bullet fired in the air during a Ku Klux Klan initiation ceremony came down and struck a participant in the head, critically injuring him. Gregory Allen Freeman, 45, was charged with aggravated assault and reckless endangerment in the Saturday night incident that wounded Jeffery S. Murr, 24. About 10 people, including two children, had gathered for the ceremony. The man who was being initiated was blindfolded, tied with a noose to a tree and shot with paintball guns as Freeman fired a pistol in the air to provide the sound of real gunfire, Sheriff Fred Phillips said. The bullet struck Murr on the top of the head and exited at the bottom of his skull. Freeman fled the ceremony but was arrested near his home.

"Let each person proclaim: there is a great negative work of destruction to be accomplished. We must sweep and clean. Affirm the cleanliness of the individual after the state of madness, aggressive complete madness of a world abandoned to the hands of bandits, who rend one another and destroy the centuries. Without aim or design, without organization: indomitable madness, decomposition..."

—Tristan Tzara



notes on the function of the outlaw as anti-role by Thomas Tripp

THE DAYS PASS AND WE WATCH THEM GO BY in our cages and cubicle-cages. From behind a short-order grill we sense the trickling away of a lifetime. Here in prison the lucky or soulless are afforded certain privileges — the ability to wear pants, for example, or a pass to roam the yard, itself only a larger cage, with freedom tantalizingly close, yet out of reach. The unlucky and alive wonder if the sun still rises and are blinded by the glare of banal walls. We exist.

Yet even here, in the only dungeons the state has to offer, we are assailed by the fallacy of our culture. We are hounded by rules and variations on rules and sub grounds and genres. Be me! They scream. Buy into me! Buy me and become me! Why? Why, when everything else has been taken, are prisoners still allowed to receive magazines? Today, magazines are less sources of information than they are catalogs of roles, as are mainstream radio, television and movies. Today media functions as a sort of compartmentalized entertainment, in which both media and assimilator of the media are expected to conform to one or more of a set of standardized roles [that is, doctor, wife, student, rebel, jock, patriot, etc.] and to carry out scripted behaviors.

The media, for the most part, is an enormous conditioning apparatus which permeates almost every corner of the American existence. As with schooling, the media is used to crush into our heads which roles are acceptable, which are not; which forms of resistance are acceptable... etc. Because we are creatures of imitation and learn how to act by watching how others act, everything in America is scripted. From the beginning we are inundated with images of how to be, and every variance is accounted for: rebellion is fine as long as we eventually see the light and conform, or as long as our rebellion takes place within the confines of the script labeled "non-conformist."

The outlaw occasionally slips through as a hero-figure apart from the capitalist roles, but usually even the outlaw is eventually

co-opted or at the very least is apologetic for the lawlessness (I am speaking here of media representations of the outlaw). Everyone knows that the outlaw is the bad guy. And that the bad guy loses in the end. The bad guy ends up in prison, and there the roles that he has integrated begin to surface as certain assumptions made by the state.

The prison system is built using certain assumptions as its foundation stones. For example, it is assumed that prisoners will not only not resist being held captive, but that we will actually keep the system which holds us captive running. By working in the kitchen, or as the plumber or electrician, by mopping the corridors and cleaning the guards' toilets, by running the visiting room and working on outdoor work crews, by doing these and a million other things we are acting as cogs in the machine which the state uses to oppress us. We act as both captives and captors.

It is further assumed that we prisoners will be so busy fighting and squabbling amongst ourselves that we will not have the time to even conceive of resistance. This assumption, for the most part, is a correct one. I myself have fallen victim

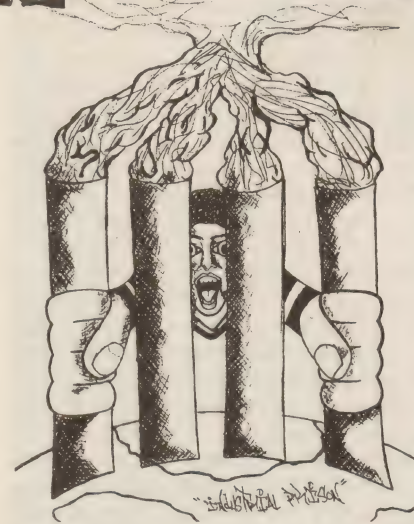
to the assumption that prisoners should fight prisoners, not the pigs. How else can two guards control a unit of 200 prisoners than by helping to divide them into factions, starting drama and watching the fun begin. And we all do

it. We are so concerned with who's a rapist, who is a rat, who called who punk and what he did about it, that we totally forget about the gang that exploits us daily.

A very close friend of mine called this behavior "engaging in petty yard tyrannies," and he is one hundred percent correct. Mostly our outing

of a rapist or harassment of a rat isn't based on any deep-seated anger — it is simply a way of reproducing the dominant power structure in our own lives. It is a bit of power which we can use to tyrannize those with less power than us, or with no power at all.

By the assumptions of the state, we are reduced to actors playing a series of roles

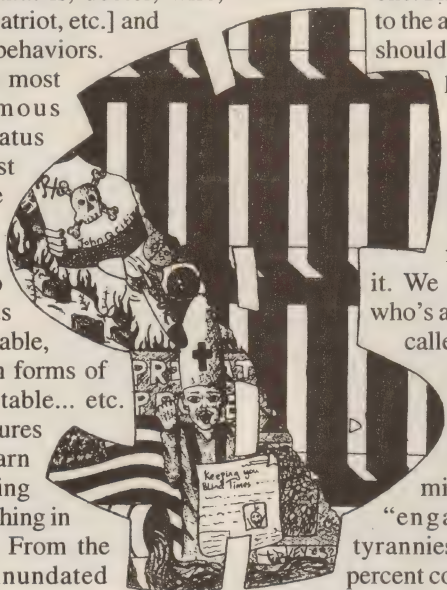


artwork by Tracy Booth
#36,255 PO Box 8509 ND-F-16 SICI Boise, ID, 83707

which have been chosen for us: crip, blood, butt rocker, punk rocker, faux intellectual, etc. I fear that often, prison anarchists take on the label of anarchist as a sort of fashion statement, a way to augment the role they play. A "punk rock" or "alternative" style person listens to the Dead Kennedys, reads the Beat poets, and holds anarchistic beliefs. A crip listens to Tupac, reads Malcolm X, and holds the system to be an inevitable reality. These roles need to be transcended. We need crips who listen to the Dead Kennedys and hold anarchistic beliefs, and punk rockers bumping Tupac. We need to believe that our tastes are not "who we are," and that our tastes are not necessarily those we've been conditioned to believe they are. We need to step outside the bounds of the cultural conditioning apparatus, inside of which we've lived our entire lives, and begin to live the practice of daily personal revolution. And then we need to begin to propose resistance in our world, and in the circumstances in which we find ourselves.

I propose the outlaw as the anti-type, the anti-role. The outlaw conforms to no standard. She sifts through the ruins of our culture, weeding out the GMOs, grasping the real and leaving the rest behind her in flames. The outlaw is completely outside the system; practicing the art of refusal, finding the ways to shake the system to its core.

Prison is a microcosm of the larger world around us, and accordingly, most of the insanity of American society is reproduced behind these walls, with more intensity. Prison is America boiled down to its base elements. Materialism, consumerism, patriarchy, complacency, racism: all of this is going on today in your cellblock.



In prison, as in America, resistance is mostly just a word. A prisoner is "in resistance" or "in revolt" — but what does that mean? Does it mean writing an occasional rant for an anarchist publication and otherwise carrying on exactly as you did when you were not "in resistance"? Does being "in resistance" mean that you can go to work every day and rob for the pigs, or clean their toilets when they're done shitting? How is doing every single thing you're told, exactly when you are told to do it, being "in resistance"?

I do not believe in the theory of resistance. I believe in the practice of revolution. Anything else is a mouthful of empty words. As stated in *Against Sleep & Nightmare*, "the system is open to our refusal... our refusal can make their system ungovernable." Every time the prisoners cooperate with the pigs by going to work, by fighting amongst ourselves, by sitting numb and mindless in the TV room, by fulfilling our roles, we strengthen and perpetuate the system — the system which holds us down. When we begin to refuse — when we don't go to work — that is when their system begins to collapse. The hole isn't so bad. Trust me. I've done 34 straight months in control units. We, each of us, are the revolution, and must live the revolution everyday. Refuse to cooperate. **Refuse your role — instead, begin to live.**

Special Note: We're happy to inform you that Thomas Tripp was released from prison on Friday, November 28, after having served over five years in Oregon prisons. Tom is doing well and re-adjusting to life on the outside.

Thomas was originally arrested for drug charges [selling marijuana], and assault charges resulting from a fight between a group of young men. He became highly politicized upon his entry into prison, and in January of 2001, was involved in a major rebellion at the Two Rivers Correctional Institution. The objective of the

rebellion was to protest the lack of educational opportunities at the prison, and to draw attention to the abuse of prisoners by guards, focusing specifically on the racist discrimination against American Indian prisoners.

The Oregonian called the rebellion a "riot" instigated by "white supremacists" when in reality the action was the work of several American Indian prisoners and anti-racist whites such as Thomas. Tripp and two other men convicted for participating in this rebellion call themselves the "Children of the River." The other men are: Teewahne Sahme, an American Indian who comes from a family with a history of American Indian Movement activism, and David Scalera, AKA Looks Away, also an American Indian. Both men were originally sent to prison on robbery-related charges and have had their sentences extended because of their involvement in prison resistance.

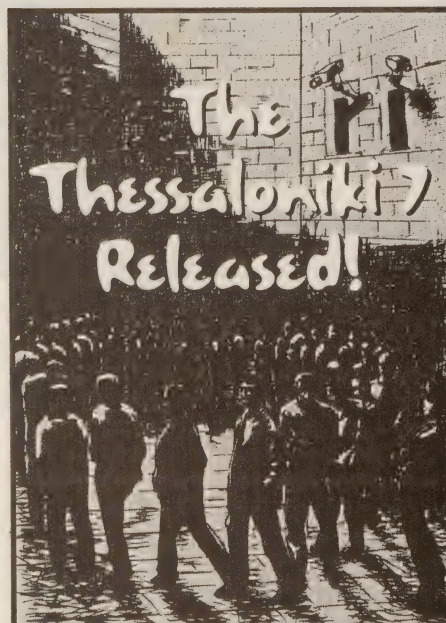
The Children of the River have been highly active in spreading revolutionary consciousness amongst prisoners, and exposing racism and abuse of authority by the Oregon Department of Corrections. For their acts of protest, the Children of the River have been subject to frame-ups, control unit isolation, and near constant harassment. Despite all of this, they have always kept a positive attitude and they are proud of the various reforms that have been introduced at the Two Rivers prison as a result of their actions.

Thomas comes from a working poor family and does not have financial assistance. Those who can afford to help Thomas can send checks & money orders [made out to "Break the Chains"], and well-concealed cash, with a note specifying that the money is for Thomas.

**Send donations to:
Break the Chains**

**PO Box 12122, Eugene, OR 97440
breakthechains02@yahoo.com**

**For more info on Thomas Tripp and the
Children of the River, visit the Break the
Chains website at: www.breakthechains.net**



Greece- On November 26, the Thessaloniki 7, arrested during the European Union Economic Summit protests in June, were released without bail and under the following conditions: They are not to leave Greece before their trial, and the 3 Greeks should present themselves to a police station twice a month. Five of the seven anti-capitalist political prisoners (Syrian-born Solaiman Dakdouk, Spanish-born Carlos Martin-Martinez and Fernando Perrez-Gorraiz, British-born Simon Chapman, Greek-born Spyros Tsitsaa) were on hunger-strike for between 49 and 66 days. According to a recent medical report concerning the five prisoners, serious injuries were beginning to set in, including: respiratory deficiency, hepatic (liver) tiredness, haemoptysis (spitting of blood), difficulty in excretion of urine (dysuria), blue disease of lower limbs (cyanosis), impairment of the synergic moves of upper and lower limbs, and swallowing difficulties. Their only demand was that they be released temporarily from prison (with or without conditions) whilst they await their trials. Their lives were in extreme danger.

The Council of Judges ruled for their release after the District Attorney in Athens ordered doctors to force-feed the hunger strikers. The latter move turned public opinion against the state. People were outraged at a decision that reeked of totalitarianism, and even members of the governing PASOK party came out to demand their release. The solidarity movement in Greece put great pressure on the government, with lots of occupations, demonstrations, actions and publicity. Once word got out that the prisoners had perhaps only a week to live, even the mainstream media began to take an interest. Twenty-eight European parliament members called for the prisoners' release and Amnesty International have called for an independent inquiry. Indymedia Athens stated: "This is a victory of the struggle for dignity and freedom by the 5 hunger strikers, of the other 2 prisoners, but as well the thousands of people that stood up for them all over the world! Our passion for freedom was stronger than their prisons."

Who Is Who?

What lengths are deemed necessary versus a society that breeds like rats, feeds like swine, and assimilates culture and individuality like the Borg? Because they will stop at nothing, and there will be nothing left. Where will you be when they aim their nanoprobe at you? An extra in the Star Trek movie and a prime candidate to be droned flying a peace sign clutching assorted prayer beads or bracing your skull with your hands to prevent your contraption of some idealistic mediocrity from imploding your pulpy Grey matter as the screws of machine language cyclone like a soccer bullet down your spine. Where will you be?

(Notes From a Cataleptic Shadow Puppet)



"Like ants in this war dance, if one falls ten more's in his place to advance the cause."

— Paris, *Sonic Jihad*

SLAVE NEW WORLD!

STATE REPRESSION NEWS

Six Anarchists Arrested and Labeled a "Terrorist Cell"

BARCELONA: On September 16th, the "Guardia Civil" (one of Spain's police forces) arrested 6 people in the Ciutat Vella neighborhood and Horta-Guinardo district. Counter-terrorist legislation has been applied to them, so they are isolated and without legal assistance of their confidence in Madrid. After five days of isolation and interrogation, one of the comrades was released with minor charges and the other five were remanded to await trial in prison. There is an international arrest warrant for another comrade supposedly related to the case. Those arrested have been labeled "a clandestine anarchist group" and the government is trying to link them with a envelope-bomb sent to the Greek embassy in Madrid (deactivated by police), thought to be carried out in solidarity with seven prisoners in Thessalonica, Greece, and also with many sabotage actions referred by police as "Urban terrorism". They've also been charged with firearm possession. Solidarity demonstrations have taken place in Barcelona, and many other fund-raising actions are being prepared. Because their mail is limited to 2-3 letters a week, letters of support can sent to the following address and they will be passed on to the family who might be able to pass it to them or read it to them: C.L.P.A. c/o C.N.T., c/o Joaquin Costa, Barcelona 08001 Spain

Sept. 24, Italy: Raids On Eco-Activists , Marco Camenisch Moved

Italian police from the Carabinieri Special Operation Branch (ROS) conducted 50 house raids against suspected eco-activists. The ROS is investigating an alleged conspiracy to create economic sabotage against environmentally destructive creations like skiing resorts, incinerators, mobile phone masts and TV towers. Marco Camenisch, who is currently imprisoned for eco-bombings against the Swiss nuclear power industry, supposedly leads this alleged conspiracy. Marco's cell in Pfaffikon prison was also raided. This is not the first time that Italian police have tried to link Marco with alleged conspiracies in a blatant attempt to try and break his spirit and destroy the solidarity Marco gets from his friends and supporters alike. Between thirteen

and twenty activists are under investigation for this alleged conspiracy. All those who were raided are Eco-activists/Eco-anarchists who have actively supported Marco either by taking part in demonstrations outside Swiss Embassies or by creating websites and other information about Marco.

This investigation appears to be concentrating on a series of direct actions, which occurred in solidarity with Marco when he was on hunger strike earlier this year. The actions being investigated include an arson attack on 1/18/03, against a nearly built chairlift at a ski resort, which resulted in 6 million Euros worth of damages. A spray-painted slogan at the scene of the arson read "Free Marco – Fire to destructors". The same slogan was found that same night near a torched phone mast and a bombed TV tower. More actions followed against phone masts, all claimed in solidarity with Marco. An anonymous supporter of Marco's stated: "Solidarity with earth warriors will never be stopped by police repression."

Marco has been moved from Pfaffikon prison to Kloten (near Zurich). His full postal address is still unknown, but letters of support can be emailed to Marco via marco_camenisch@bluewin.ch (Please remember that no prisoner has access to email. This e-mail address is run by a supporter of Marco's who will print off your email and post it to Marco by normal land mail. If you wish to receive a reply to your email you have to include a land mail address).

Who is Marco Camenisch?

In January 1980, Marco Camenisch received a 10-year prison sentence, for direct action against a pylon and against a power station. In 1981, together with 5 other prisoners, he succeeded in escaping from prison, during which a guard was killed. He went underground for ten years. In 1989, Swiss federal police claimed he was responsible for the killing of a Swiss border cop. After a shoot-out with Carabinieri, he was arrested in November 1992. The Italian State condemned him to 12 years of prison for bodily harm and several direct actions against pylons. He served 9 years in high security prison in solitary confinement.

In April 2002, Marco was extradited to Switzerland. In January 2003, after a hunger strike against the bad conditions of imprisonment he was suffering, and several direct actions

by an international solidarity movement, they transferred him and improved the conditions, later to be retracted upon another transfer.

He is currently serving 8 years for direct action, but still faces charges for escaping prison and for the death of the border cop. Marco is expecting the trial to take place this year. After all the years in prison, Marco, who calls himself a green anarchist, didn't let them change his mind about his political convictions. Behind bars, he stayed a political activist; by means of writing letters, he organized a far-reaching network of political and personal relations.

November 5, West Papua: Indonesian Military Murders Six OPM Members

It's been reported that about 200 Indonesian (TNI) troops went to the village of Yalengga in West Papua at about 3:00 a.m. on November 5. They entered houses and started shooting everywhere. 10 people are believed to have been killed, at least 4 of whom were civilians, while the other 6 were known OPM freedom fighters. The names of those killed we believe to be:

- Yosep Gombo
- Samuel Tabuni
- Leenius Telenggen
- Tingkap Tabuni
- Niur Murib
- Yonius Wanimbo
- Yustinus Murib
- Nair Telenggen
- Ararik Murib
- Ubah Telenggen

Some of the names here are different from those issued by the Indonesian media and the TNI, who are being accused by human-rights monitors of false reporting. The army is still controlling this area of Papua, restricting movement and denying independent reporters access to surviving villagers. Contrary to some media reports this attack was not connected to the shooting of a construction worker in the Ugima village, which is more than a two week walk from Jalenga. The Jalenga massacre is believed to have been precipitated by an informant passing a lead on to the TNI regarding the whereabouts of OPM soldiers who they believed to be responsible for an April 4, 2003, attack on the Wamena armory; the suspected informant is said to have been paid 50,000,000RP for the lead (the TNI have used local Papuans to snitch on resistance fighters and to create conflict and tensions between Papuans.)

One of the people murdered in this ambush was Yustinus Murib, a Papuan independence fighter who was a regional commander of the Papuan Liberation Army, or OPM. At least eleven thousand Indonesian troops have been deployed to Papua in recent months, leading to speculation of an imminent large-scale military operation. From October 9-18, 2003, there was an international week of action in support of the West Papuan people, and some decent shows of solidarity took place in England.

In Redhill, the offices of Toyota were visited and the entire place covered in red paint (Toyota are responsible for logging in occupied West Papua, a position that marks them out as clear enemies both of nature and of tribal peoples.) Also, a protest against the New Tribes Mission during the "week of action" turned militant, resulting in sensitive documents, floppy discs and computer hard drives being stolen from their Headquarters; keyboards, locks and computers were also damaged and a timed device was left in the toilets which later opened a valve on the building's water supply, causing flooding overnight! The New Tribes Mission exist to convert tribal people to fundamentalist Christianity and are currently active in the Philippines and West Papua, as well as much of the rest of the world. Their airlines search for tribes and fly in the missionaries, then, according to eyewitness accounts from West Papua, fly in businessmen, corporate products and the military. They are the vanguard of cultural invasion.

In related news, on November 26, Eco-anarchists in Manchester, England stormed a conference on "corporate citizenship" and decided to balance out the cheesy "solar products" on display by dumping several bottles of fake blood on the BP stall in the lobby: This action was carried out in solidarity with the people of West Papua whose lives are being destroyed by BP. Two people were arrested for the action and charged with 5,500 pounds worth of criminal damage. We've also been hearing about an extraordinary video that was smuggled out of West Papua in early November, from a secret OPM rally in the remote highlands of the Baliem Valley. These tapes are pleas for help to the outside world and detail allegations of the burning of villages, the killing of highlanders, and the driving of up to 5,000 people into the bush - without access to their food gardens. This video footage offers a rare glimpse into a region - and a struggle - that Indonesia doesn't want the world to see, and was recently aired on Australian television.

Peter Schnell Released from Prison

Peter is back into safe and free surroundings and we wish him the best! Matt Whyte and Peter Schnell (aka the Santa Cruz Two), both long-time animal and earth activists, were



sentenced on January 28, 2002, in federal court in San Jose, CA. Matt was sentenced to 14 months in prison, and 3 years supervised release, and Petey was sentenced to 24 months in prison, and 3 years supervised release.

Dec. 8, Athens: Greek Court Convicts 15 in 27 Year-Old Underground Group

A court convicted 15 members of the radical leftist group, November 17, on a string of assassinations, car bombings and rocket attacks that stretched over nearly three decades. Greek officials said they hoped to decrease the fear of political violence before the summer Olympic Games. Those convicted included a founder and the chief assassin of the group, Dimitris Koufodinas. After its first killing, of a CIA station chief in Athens in 1975, N17 waged a hit-and-run campaign that officials said claimed 23 victims, including a Greek shipping magnate, a British brigadier and three other American officials. The verdicts, delivered by a judge in rapid-fire style without comment, brought an abrupt close to a trial that had riveted Greece for nine months, with nearly 500 witnesses, 10,000 pages of evidence and a carnival atmosphere that at times threatened to spiral into chaos. The court acquitted four defendants, including the only woman. Several of the convicted face life in prison; their lawyers said they planned to appeal.

The case, while rich in spectacle and symbolism, left much about the group cloaked in mystery, including the question of why the group was able to act with impunity for 27 years. Greece prosecuted the November 17 suspects under a new antiterrorism law, using a panel of three judges instead of a jury. The prisoners filed casually to their usual seats and fell into roles honed over long

months of testimony. A few rifled through legal papers. The group's 59-year-old founder, Alexandros Yiotopoulos, listened impassively as the judge read out the word "guilty" over and over.

Dec. 18, Kennebunk, ME: Teen Serves Federal Time for Accidental Arson of Bush, Sr.'s Boat

It was supposed to be simple, breaking into a small boatyard and stealing a marine radio to monitor police frequencies. But when the two intruders, Patrick V., 14, and his accomplice, Christopher Conley, 19, spotted what they thought were video surveillance cameras, they panicked and set fire to the building, burning it down along with several boats and engines. Unknown to them, one of the boat engines belonged to former President George Bush, whose summer house is seven miles away.

Within days of the July 2002 fire, Secret Service and other federal agents were at Patrick's house. His mother, Denise Collier, said they told her that the young men had "blown up the president's boat" in what might have been "a terrorist act." One federal firearms agent told her that the incident had raised "national security concerns."

Patrick then found himself in a highly unusual predicament. Instead of being tried in local juvenile court, he was turned over to the United States Attorney's office in Portland, tried in Federal District Court and found guilty. He was given the maximum sentence allowed: 30 months incarceration, followed by 27 months of probation. He was then sent to a maximum security juvenile facility in Pennsylvania on the order of the federal Bureau of Prisons. Unfortunately, we don't have any current information on where Patrick is now being held, but we hope to have it available for our Spring 2004 issue.

THE STATE TAKES ITS VENGEANCE

POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO NEED YOUR SUPPORT!

NOTE: We can not list every political prisoner, so we must prioritize anarchists, anti-authoritarians, eco-defense activists, animal liberationists, native and land rights prisoners, and others we have strong affinity with that are being held captive in North America. In the future, we may have special featured prisoners, which will rotate each issue. The following are being held by the state for politically-motivated activities:

Anarchist & Anti-Authoritarian:

Bill Dunne #10916-086, Box 019001, Atwater, CA 95301. Anti-authoritarian sentenced to 90 years for the attempted liberation of a prisoner in 1979.

Larry Giddings #10917-086, Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837. Anti-authoritarian prisoner serving 75+ years for revolutionary action.

Matthew Lamont T90251, Centinella State Prison/ A-5-114, PO Box 901, Imperial, CA. 92251 Serving time for allegedly planning to attack a white supremacist gathering.

Ojore N. Lutalo #59860, PO 861, SBI #000901548, Trenton, NJ 08625. Anarchist and black liberation soldier serving time for revolutionary clandestine activities.

Mike Rusniak DOC K88887, Dixon CC, 2600 Brinton, PO Box 99, Dixon, IL 61021. Serving time for stealing a police car, and other acts of anti-government property-destruction.

Robert Thaxton (Rob Los Ricos) #12112716, OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310. Long-time anarchist activist sentenced to seven years in prison for throwing a rock at a cop in self-defense at a June 18, 1999 Reclaim the Streets protest in Eugene.

Harold Thompson #93992, Northwest Correctional Complex, Route 1, Box 660, Tiptonville, TN 38079. Serving multiple life sentences for clandestine resistance.

Rodney Wade #38058, I.S.C.I. 13A-20B, P.O.Box 14, Boise, ID, 83707. Ecological activist serving time for self-defense against a racist attack.

Jerome W. Bey #37479, SCCC (5-D-256), 255 West Hwy 32, Licking, MO 65102. Social prisoner and founder of the anarcho-syndicalist Missouri Prison Labor Union.

Eco-Defense & Animal Liberation:

Ted Kaczynski #04475-046, US Pen-Admin Max Facility, PO Box 8500, Florence Colorado 81226. Sentenced to multiple lifetimes in prison for the "Unabomber" bombing attacks against the architects of the New World Order.

Jeffrey Luers (Free) #13797671, OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310. Serving a 22+ year sentence for setting fire to SUVs to protest the destruction of the environment. He has been made an example of by the criminal injustice system and urgently needs your support.

Craig Marshall (Crittter) #13797662, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914. Serving a five-year sentence for setting fire to SUVs to protest the destruction of the environment.

Benjamin Persky #1410212600, George Vierno Center, 0909 Hazen St., East Elmhurst, NY 11370. Sentenced to multiple years for property destruction at multiple anti-HLS demonstrations.

Fran Thompson #93341, 1107 Recharge Rd., York, NE 68467. Longtime eco-activist serving a Life sentence for shooting dead, in self-defense, a stalker who had broken into her home.

Helen Woodson #03231-045 FMC Carswell, PO Box 27137, Admin Max Unit, Fort Worth, TX 76127. Serving 27 years for robbing a bank and then setting the money on fire while reading out a statement denouncing greed, capitalism and the destruction of the environment.

Native American & Land Rights:

Byron Shane Chubbuck #07909051, US Penitentiary, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. Indigenous rights activist serving time for robbing banks in order to acquire funds to support the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico.

Eddie Hatcher #0173499, ECI, PO Box 215, Maury, NC 28550. Longtime Native American freedom-fighter being framed for a murder he did not commit.

Leonard Peltier #89637-132, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. American Indian Movement (AIM) activist, serving two Life sentences, having been framed for the murder of two FBI agents.

Andy J. Riendeau (John Two Names) #193786, Dorm 16/Bed 25, Limestone Correctional Facility, 28779 Nick Davis Rd., Harvest AL 35749.

Tewahnee Sahme #11186353, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914. Native rights advocate serving additional time for a prison insurgency.

David Scalera (Looks Away) #13405480, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd, Umatilla, OR 97882. Native rights advocate serving additional time for a prison insurgency.

Luis V. Rodriguez #C33000, PO Box 7500, Crescent City, CA 95532-7500. Apache/Chicano activist being framed for the murder of two cops.

MOVE Prisoners:

MOVE is a radical, ecological movement that has been attacked by the Philadelphia Police since its inception. Nine members were convicted and sent to prison for life following a 1978 siege at their house in which one cop was killed by another cop. One of those nine, Merle Africa, died in prison after being denied medical treatment.

Debbie Simms Africa #006307, **Janet Holloway Africa** #006308, **Janine Philips Africa** #006309, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238.

Michael Davis Africa AM4973, **Charles Simms Africa** AM4975, Box 244, Grateford, PA 19426-0244 SCI Grateford.

Edward Goodman Africa AM4974, Box 200, Camp Hill, PA 17011-0200 SCI Camp Hill.

William Phillips Africa AM4984, **Delbert Orr Africa** AM4985, Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612 SCI Dallas.

United Freedom Front (UFF):

The following three individuals are serving huge sentences for their role in actions carried out by the (UFF) in the 1980's. The UFF carried out solidarity bombings against the US government on a variety of issues.

Jaen Karl Laaman W41514, Box 100, South Walpole, MA 0207.

Ray Luc Levasseur #10376-016, Box PMB, Atlanta, GA 30315.

Thomas Manning #10373-016, Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048.

Richard Williams #10377-016, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, CA 93436.

Special Social Prisoner:

Brian McCarvill #11037967, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd, Umatilla, OR 97882. He became politically active while serving a 39-year sentence on bogus charges. He is currently suffering from numerous health problems and has been continually harassed after filing a lawsuit against the Oregon Dept. of Corrections.

More information on Political Prisoners & POWs can be obtained from the following websites:

Break The Chains Prisoner Support Group
www.breakthechains.net

Anarchist Black Cross Network
www.anarchistblackcross.org

Eddie Hatcher: Native American Political Prisoner
www.eddiehatcher.org

Howl For Freedom: Free Defense Network
www.freefreenow.org

International Leonard Peltier Defense Committee
www.freepeltier.org

Jericho Movement
www.thejerichomovement.com

MOVE
www.onamove

Prison Activist Resource Center
www.prisonactivist.org

Robert Thaxton (Rob los Ricos)
www.defenstrator.org/roblosricos

Spirit Of Freedom:
Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network
www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk

THE FIRE INSIDE!

PRISONER UPRISINGS AND REVOLTS

"The Abolitionist movement is not a militant movement; we have no "cause" to defend, the prisoners any more than other ones. We are struggling neither for them nor even with them, but for ourselves. We are neither humanists nor leftists; we don't want to work for more humane prisons. For us, abolitionists inside and abolitionists outside, it is the very idea of prisons and trials that suffocates us, not just because it is the symbol of all of our confinements, but also because it is the real conclusion of an unbearable logic of normalization. We recognize ourselves in prisoners' refusal precisely when they revolt against confinement."

—Catherine Baker, *Against Prisons*

September 21: Insurrection in Maldives

COLOMBO—Five security personnel were arrested in the tiny Indian Ocean atoll nation of Maldives after the deaths of two prisoners sparked unprecedented rioting in the island capital of Male. One prisoner was killed on a Friday at the Maafushi Jail and another prisoner died that Saturday in a penal hospital, triggering off intense street violence. President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom appealed to the public for calm but hours later imposed a night curfew to stop the rampaging mobs that set fire to police stations, government buildings and burnt police vehicles and high court records. For the first time ever, Maldivian police used tear gas as mobs rampaged through the night. Computers from government offices and the high court were dragged out of buildings and smashed on the narrow paved roads of Male; the smoldering remains of two police stations, the two-storied election building and the courthouse were guarded by police who stepped up patrols in armored personnel carriers as the government attempted to reopen offices. Extra security was also deployed around radio and television stations and the country's main international conference hall, which was damaged by stone pelting mobs. The uprising started when police told relatives that a man convicted of drug charges had died in a riot at the Maafushi prison. Family members took the body of Hassan Eevan Naseem to a cemetery where his injuries were shown to mourners. The second victim of prison brutality, Abdullah Ameen, died of similar police inflicted injuries and his body was taken by ambulance and driven through the streets on Saturday, as law and order crumbled. Until President Gayoom's plea for "calm" there was a virtual news blackout on the unprecedented civil unrest, but residents said it was difficult to keep information under wraps given the tiny size of the city.

September 23, Maldives: Second Jail Riot in Four Days

News has emerged of a second jail riot in Maldives during weekend disturbances in which three prisoners died. Eyewitnesses say up to 18 others were seriously injured when security

forces fired on prisoners. The first riot sparked anti-government street protests in the capital city of Male, which destroyed or damaged several State-owned buildings. The second prison riot occurred on a Sunday, but telephones in the jail were switched off so news was slow to filter out. The prisoners involved in the second riot say they were angry after they heard that the president had accused them of attacking the prison armory in a televised address to the nation that was broadcast during the earlier uprising in the streets. After the second riot the prisoners were chained and handcuffed in their cells and kept without food for 24 hours. Many of the seriously injured were flown to neighboring Sri Lanka for medical treatment. It appears that the State was sending the dead and wounded abroad in an attempt to calm the situation in the Maldives capital, where the sight of the first two dead bodies triggered violence directed against government buildings and the police.

September 24, United Kingdom: Another Riot at Immigration Detention Centre

About 30 prisoners at an immigration detention centre in Hampshire took part in rioting in which a prison pig was injured. Prison "officials" are investigating claims that the riot was sparked after four prison guards beat up a detainee. Rioting lasted until the early morning hours and closed the large dormitory. Up to 2,000 pounds of damage was caused when windows, lights and televisions were smashed in seven hours of unrest at the "former" prison (now euphemistically called a "detention centre"). In August 2003, 4 prisoners escaped from this same holding facility.

October 27, Tennessee: Eight Prisoners Escape From Jail

BLOUNTVILLE—Eight prisoners escaped from a Tennessee jail about 100 miles northeast of Knoxville by climbing through a plumbing access in a wall and then through an air duct to the roof. They then tied their jail uniforms

together into a ladder, which they used to reach the ground, where they stole a pickup truck and drove it through a fence to get away. Seven of the escapees from the Sullivan County jail were captured within a few days, while the eighth "hot-stepper" (fugitive from jail) was re-arrested by U.S. marshals in Virginia, where he was discovered hiding in a barn.

NOVEMBER 2, HAL FAR (MALTA)—Detained immigrants started a fire inside a detention centre, causing the evacuation of the building. The immigrants were moved to a police station for further detention.

NOVEMBER 7, PORT HEDLAND (AUSTRALIA)—An uprising of refugees caused extensive damage to a detention centre. One detainee was injured. Riot police were called in to surround the area.

NOVEMBER 8, ITALY—A bank, which manages an account of an immigrant detention centre, was damaged by a fire attack.

NOVEMBER 11, BRAZIL—Eighty-seven prisoners attempted to escape through a tunnel. Forty-eight were recaptured, eight died when the tunnel collapsed, and one was killed in a shootout with police. Thirty are still free.

NOVEMBER 27, PERU—In Lima, a group of young prisoners attempted to escape the Maranga youth detention centre by jumping over a wall and were, sadly, recaptured.

NOVEMBER 29, ITALY—A detained Algerian immigrant was put in isolation after allegedly assaulting the director of the San Foca detention centre and causing damage to the building.

DECEMBER 2, BRAZIL—In Rio de Janeiro, one prison guard was shot and killed and two were injured during a prison rebellion. Inmates took 20 hostages inside the maximum security prison. They were fighting against the dehumanizing conditions of the jail.



Resisting the Neoliberal Discourse of Technology

by John Armitage

The Politics of Cyberspace in the Age of the Virtual Class

Such penetrating assessments of technology are increasingly exceptional: nearly all the political, economic, and cultural texts that surround us suggest that we are entering a truly new technological and democratic age. Indeed, modern day pharaohs, such as Microsoft's Bill Gates, constantly assert that the world is on the brink of a "technological revolution". Meanwhile, Neoliberal politicians, like American Vice President Al Gore, see the "Global Information Infrastructure" as nothing less than the basis of a new Athenian age of electronic democracy.

The Neoliberal Discourse of Technology

Contemporary neoliberalism is the pan-capitalist theory and practice of explicitly technologized, or "telematic", societies. [2] Neoliberalism is of course a political philosophy that originated in the advanced countries in the 1980s. It is associated with the idea of "liberal fascism": free enterprise, economic globalization and national corporatism as the institutional and ideological grounds for the civil disciplining of subaltern individuals, "aliens" and groups. However, while pan-capitalism appears largely impregnable to various oppositional political forces and survives broadly uncontested, it nonetheless relies extensively on a specifically Neoliberal discourse of technology. What is more, this discourse is principally concerned with legitimating the political and cultural control of individuals, groups, and new social movements through the material and ideological production, promotion, distribution, and consumption of self-styled "virtual" technologies like virtual reality (VR) and cyberspace.

These contentions about pan-capitalism, telematics, and the Neoliberal discourse of virtual technologies derive from the fact that human labor is no longer central to market-driven conceptions of business and political activities.

Actually, as far as some neo-liberals are concerned, technology is now the only factor of production. [3] Artifacts like VR, cyberspace, and the Internet thus embody not "use value" but what Arthur Kroker and Michael Weinstein term "abuse value":

"The primary category of the political economy of virtual reality is abuse value. Things are valued for the injury that can be done to them or that they can do. Abuse value is the certain outcome of the politics of suicidal nihilism. The transformation, that is, of the weak and the powerless into objects with one last value: to provide pleasure to the privileged beneficiaries of the will to purity in their sacrificial bleeding, sometimes actual (Branch Davidians) and sometimes spectacular."

— Kroker and Weinstein. *Data Trash*. p.64.



The Neoliberal analysis of production under the conditions of pan-capitalism and telemetry accordingly focuses not on the outmoded Marxian conception of the "labor process", but on the technological and scientific processing of labor. [4] The result is that surplus labor is transformed by relentless technological activity, and the means of virtual production produce abuse value.

Technology and the Politics of Cyberspace

The technological fixations of the neoliberals are, of course, presently extending themselves from virtual production to virtual culture; to technoscience and to Cyberspace, including

"Totalitarianism is latent in technology. It was not merely Hitler or Mussolini who were totalitarian, or the Pharaohs as far as I am concerned. Totalitarianism is already present in the technical object." - Paul Virilio [1]

the culture of cyborgs, cyberfeminism, cyberspace, cyberwarfare, and cyberart. [5] In scarcely over one hundred years, it has become clear that technology is not only voraciously consuming what is left of "nature," but is also busily constructing it anew. Nanotechnology, for example, brings together the basic atomic building blocks of nature effortlessly, cheaply, and in just about any molecular arrangement we ask. [6] Information and communications technologies evoke the virtual architecture and circuitry of fiber optics, computer networks, cybernetic systems, and so on.

These technologies, these assemblages, though, need to be appreciated for what they are: synthetic materials transformed into instruments of "the will to virtuality," or of human incorporation — even "disappearance" — into cybernetic machinery. Cybercultural technologies are agents of physical colonization, imperialists of the human sensorium, created, like Frankenstein, by our own raw desire. They represent what Virilio calls "the third revolution", the impending bodily internalization of science and technology. As Virilio recently defined the third revolution:

"By this term I mean that technology is becoming something physically assimilable, it is a kind of nourishment for the human race, through dynamic inserts, implants and so on. Here, I am not talking about implants such as silicon breasts, but dynamic implants like additional memory storage. What we see here is that science and technology aim for miniaturization in order to invade the human body." [7]

As a result, the division between living bodies and technology is increasingly difficult to maintain; both are now so hopelessly entwined in the "cyborgian" sociotechnical imagination. [8] We are well on our way to "becoming machinic". As Deleuze and Guattari comment: "This is not animism, any more than it is mechanism; rather it is universal machinism: a plane of consistency occupied by an immense abstract machine comprising an infinite number of assemblages." [9]

Nevertheless, the technologically determinist assemblages of sundry Neoliberal computer mystics, like Jargon Lanier and John Perry Barlow, are questionable because cybercultural technologies, like all technologies, are innately political. Technologies like VR do not appear – like rainfall – as heavenly gifts. They have to be willed into existence, they have to be produced by real human beings. Information and communications technologies, for instance, both contain and signify the cultural and political values of particular human societies. Accordingly, these technologies are always expressions of socioeconomic, geographical, and political interests, partialities, alignments and commitments. In brief, the will to technical knowledge is the will to technical power.

It is crucial, then, to redefine, and to develop a fully conscious and wholly critical account of the Neoliberal discourse of technology at work in the realm of Cyberculture; one that exposes not only the economic and social interests embodied within cultural technologies, but also their underlying authoritarianism. Maybe Marshall McLuhan was right? The medium is the message. The question is, what does it say? Moreover, how does it manage to say it so eloquently, so perfectly, that some among us are more than “willing” to trade corporeality for virtuality? And all for what? A chance to dance to the (pre-programmed) rhythms of technologized bodies? Indeed, it is hard to disagree with Hakim Bey when he writes:

“Physical separateness can never be overcome by electronics, but only by “conviviality”, by “living together” in the most literal physical sense. The physically divided are also the conquered and the Controlled. “True desires” – erotic, gustatory, olfactory, musical, aesthetic, psychic, & spiritual – are best attained in a context of freedom of self and other in physical proximity & mutual aid. Everything else is at best a sort of representation.” [10]

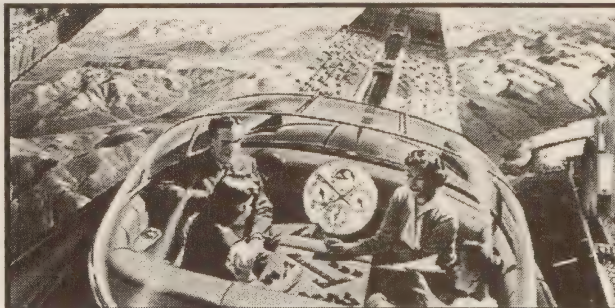
Technology and the Virtual Class

What are the central political dynamics at work in the Neoliberal discourse of technology? Today, the development of this discourse is also the development of the shifting determinations of the virtual class. For it is this, “...social strata in contemporary pan-capitalism that have material and ideological interest in speeding up and intensifying the process of virtualization and heightening the will to virtuality.” [11]

Resisting the unconstrained development of the Neoliberal discourse of technology is vital because such resistance impedes the contemporary development of the virtual class. To some of its members, like Douglas Coupland, the reigning technological discourse constitutes the narcissistic flowering of long-held personal ambitions, while to others, like *Wired*'s Neoliberal evangelist Nicholas Negroponte, it represents the beginning of a new techno-religion.

To Alvin & Heidi Toffler, the Neoliberal discourse heralds the emergence of a whole new civilization, while to Bill Gates and Kevin Kelly it means material wealth and political influence beyond measure.

Certainly, it is possible to characterize the present period of self-consciously “spectacular” technological innovation as being driven primarily by pan-capitalism's need to arm itself against the onset of virtual class warfare. [12] Without doubt, the virtual class must,



at some stage – and probably with the acquiescence, if not the full participation of global technocratic, political and military elites – confront living labor, actual communities, tangible spaces, material environments, and physical, breathing bodies. The Neoliberal discourse of technology therefore represents an attempt by the virtual class to open up a new period in the cybernetic carnival that is pan-capitalism. The unfolding of the Neoliberal discourse of technology is thus the unfolding of virtual class relations. This is the true nature of social communications in the contemporary era.

Make no mistake, VR and cyberspace have not simply opened up new wealth generating possibilities for the virtual elites. They have also opened up new political prospects for those who wish to see the spectacular representational systems of crash culture disappear. What is important in the interim, then, is to challenge the pronouncements of the virtual class wherever they appear and join with others in a comprehensive and detailed critique of the Neoliberal discourse of technology in a variety of fields ranging from VR to cyberwarfare and beyond. Further, such challenges need to involve a multiplicity of individuals and groups. These might range from school kids

and students disenchanted with the increasing replacement of education by mere technocratic information, to disaffected computer industry workers, or simply local communities seeking control over their own technological environments.

Virtual politics, therefore, should be founded on defying the Neoliberal discourse of technology

currently being fashioned by the virtual class. It is crucial to ensure that the political genealogy of technology, of virtual reality, of the reality of virtuality, is uncovered by numerous individuals, groups, classes, and new social movements. Indeed, without such excavations, the increasingly institutionalized Neoliberal discourse of technology currently being promoted by the virtual class will rapidly become a source of immense social power.

This is why concrete, corporeal, and ideological struggles over the nature and meaning of technology are so important in the realm of virtual politics. It is also why the specifically Neoliberal discourse of the virtual class needs to be countered.

The pan-capitalist revolution and the development from industrial to virtual production have generated the Neoliberal discourse of technology. It provides the virtual class with an ideological rationale for the ever-increasing manufacture of virtual distractions

(e.g., movies, VR, and interactive video games). Consequently, many human activities are no longer simply mediated through technology. Indeed, they are so utterly “possessed” by technology that the distinction between virtual activities and actual activities borders on the incomprehensible. The ambitions of the Neoliberal discourse of technology are not only unremitting but also potentially infinite.

Totalitarianism is latent in technology. It is not simply the virtual class that is totalitarian. Totalitarianism is always present in technology itself.

Virilio's acute observations on technology are therefore essentially correct: his theoretical analysis indicates that while we are indeed in the midst of some kind of technological transition, it is improbable that such a transition will usher in a new era of digital democracy. On this view, then, humanity is not on the verge of the kind of technological

and democratic revolution envisaged by the neoliberals.

What separates a critical interpretation of technology from that of global technological entrepreneurs and leading politicians is a determination to forge a radical understanding of technology's consequences. The advantage of this kind of analysis is that it focuses on key aspects

of technology that are rarely, if ever, voiced by computer manufacturers and political pundits. Indeed, the general absence of a critical understanding of technology is one of the chief reasons why so many people seem to be so baffled by the “mysteries” of technology.

(continued on next page)



RECLAIMING THOREAU FOR ANARCHY

Excerpts from the essays of Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), who was born and lived most of his life in Concord, Massachusetts. He earned his living as a writer, and gave occasional talks at the local lyceum, a sort of community college of the day. Although his works inspired champions of nonviolent resistance such as Gandhi, Tolstoy, and King, Thoreau's vision was far more radical than theirs, as these examples show. His essays, as well as *Walden*, his best-known book, can be found in most public libraries. Like most 19th century authors, Thoreau routinely used gendered language; it takes an effort to mentally correct the masculine nouns and pronouns, in order to discern his core ideas.



While technology is obviously an extremely important and determining force, it is crucial to remember that it is not the only force or agent of change. The virtual class is not simply an assortment of technological and visual representations. In fact, it is all too real. It is the class that at this moment is rewriting the history of virtual and other technologies while simultaneously controlling their organized production, distribution and consumption.

As a result of its monopolistic control of technology, the virtual class is presently being courted by the newly ascendant virtual political class (of which Newt Gingrich in the US and Tony Blair in the UK are examples). This class opposes all those who resist the Neoliberal discourse of technology in whatever forms it takes (e.g., anti-road building and animal rights protests by young people). It is time, then, to radically rethink, redefine and reinterpret the very meaning of technology, politics, and Cyberculture in the age of the virtual class.

Notes

- [1] Paul Virilio and Carlos Oliveira. "The Silence of the Lambs: Paul Virilio in Conversation". In *CTHEORY*. Vol 19. No 1-2. 1996. P.3.
- [2] Much of my argument in the following pages draws on Arthur Kroker and Michael Weinstein's *Data Trash: The Theory of the Virtual Class*. Montreal: New World Perspectives, 1994, and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- [3] See, for instance, Jeremy Rifkin. *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1995; Kevin Kelly. *New Rules for the New Economy: 10 Ways the Network Economy is Changing Everything*. London: Fourth Estate, 1998.
- [4] See, for example, William Di Fazio. "Technoscience and the labor process". In *Technoscience and Cyberculture*. Edited by Stanley Aronowitz, Barbara Martinson and Michael Menser. London: Routledge, 1996. p.195-204.
- [5] On the phenomenon of cyberculture and cyborgs see, for example, Stanley Aronowitz, Barbara Martinson and Michael Menser. Eds. *Technoscience and Cyberculture*. London: Routledge, 1996; Chris Hables Gray. Ed. *The Cyborg Handbook*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- [6] The most obvious reference here is, Eric Drexler. *Engines of Creation*. New York: Anchor, 1986.
- [7] Paul Virilio and John Armitage. "From Modernism to Hypermodernism and Beyond: An Interview with Paul Virilio". Translated by Patrice Riemens. Forthcoming in Paul Virilio, *A Special Issue of Theory Culture & Society on the Work of Paul Virilio*. Vol 16. 1999.
- [8] See, Donna Haraway. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology and Socialist-feminism in the Late Twentieth Century". In her *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. London: Free Associations Books, 1991. p.149-181.
- [9] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987. p.256.
- [10] Hakim Bey. "The Lemonade Ocean & Modern Times: A Position Paper by Hakim Bey".
- [11] Kroker and Weinstein. *Data Trash*. p.163.
- [12] Guy Debord. *Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit: Black and Red, 1983

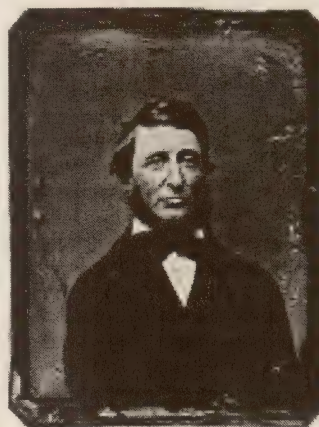
Note: While we consider this article an important contribution to the subject of the confluence or conjunction of politics and technology, we must also point-out that Leftist regimes, no less than free market neoliberal ones, buy into the techno future.

Serving the State

Law never made men a whit more just; and by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is, that you may see a file of soldiers...marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against their common sense and consciences.... They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power?.... The mass of men serve the state thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, jailers, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense.... Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt.... Yet such as these are commonly esteemed good citizens. (*Civil Disobedience*, 1849)

Voting

All voting is a sort of gaming, like checkers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right and wrong, with moral questions; and betting naturally accompanies it.... Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your despite that it should prevail.... When the majority shall at length vote for the abolition of slavery, it will be because they are indifferent to slavery, or because there is little slavery left to be abolished by their vote. They will then be the only slaves. (*Civil Disobedience*, 1849)



Violence

It was his peculiar doctrine that a man has a perfect right to interfere with the slaveholder, in order to rescue the slave. I agree with him. They who are continually shocked by slavery have some right to be shocked by the violent death of the slaveholder, but no others.... I do not wish to kill nor to be killed, but I can

foresee circumstances in which both these things would be by me unavoidable. We preserve the so-called peace of our community by deeds of petty violence every day. Look at the policeman's billy and handcuffs! Look at the jail! Look at the gallows! Look at the chaplain of the regiment! We are hoping only to live safely on the outskirts of this provisional army. So we defend ourselves and our hen-roosts, and maintain slavery.

(*A Plea for Captain John Brown*, 1860)

Nature

If a man walk in the woods for love of them half of each day, he is in danger of being regarded as a loafer; but if he spends his whole day as a speculator, shearing off those woods and making earth bald before her time, he is esteemed an industrious and enterprising citizen. As if a town had no interest in its forests but to cut them down! (*Life Without Principle*, 1863)

When we walk, we naturally go to the fields and woods: what would become of us, if we walked only in a garden or a mall? (*Walking*, 1862)

[original meaning of "mall" = a pedestrian walkway]

Hope and the future for me are not in lawns and cultivated fields, not in towns and cities, but in the impervious and quaking swamps.... I derive more of my subsistence from the swamps

which surround my native town than from the cultivated gardens in the village. (*Walking*, 1862)

Institutions

...As a snow-drift is formed where there is a lull in the wind, so, one would say, where there is a lull of truth, an institution springs up. But the truth blows right on over it, nevertheless, and at length blows it down. (*Life Without Principle*, 1863)

Work

When sometimes I am reminded that all the mechanics and shopkeepers stay in their shops not only all the forenoon, but all the afternoon too, sitting with crossed legs, so many of them—as if the legs were made to sit upon, and not to stand or walk upon—I think they deserve some credit for not having all committed suicide long ago. (*Walking*, 1862)

Colonization, Self-Government and Self-Determination in British Columbia

Insurgent-S

Insurrectionary Anarchists of the Coast Salish Territories

Currently, the federal and provincial levels of government, in partnership with multinational corporations, are accelerating their efforts to further displace and exploit the indigenous peoples of British Columbia (BC) and extend corporate access to Native lands and resources. The BC Liberal government and the federal department of Indian and Northern Affairs have been pushing hard to impose their model of "self-government" on Native reserves through treaty negotiations with their State-controlled Native band councils, and media propaganda campaigns.

The self-government model will turn Native reserves into municipalities and band councils into municipal governments – expanding their role as the local representatives of the provincial and federal government. Reserves will become fee simple property which can be bought, sold, and leased like any other form of property. Self-government will not give power back to the people of indigenous nations, but will place more wealth and power in the hands of the elite band councils, while corporations move in to plunder the land. So, it is clearly an attack on indigenous self-determination.

A History of Conflict

The history of British Columbia is unique within Canada, as the vast majority of indigenous nations in the province have never signed treaties. The Chilcotin War of 1864 – which successfully limited European settlement in Chilcotin territories – and the attack on Fort Victoria in 1844, led by the Cowichan warrior chief Tzouhalem, are signs that local indigenous resistance has a history as long as colonization. The indigenous sovereignty struggle – the struggle for self-determination – was revitalized in BC during the early Seventies, as the Red Power movement swept the continent in the wake of the American Indian Movement rebellion at Wounded Knee. Red Patrols appeared on the streets of Vancouver's downtown eastside – a program which sought to limit police brutality by monitoring their activities.

In the wake of the indigenous uprisings of the Nineties at Kanehsatake, Ipperwash, and Gustafson Lake, the Native Youth Movement came into existence. Since 1995, NYM has carried out direct actions against the BC Treaty Process, and set up blockades on Native territory to stop corporate expansion. Currently, in BC, there are chapters in Vancouver, Secwepemc and Nuxalk territories. A St'at'imc Nation land reoccupation camp at Sutikalh has existed for more than three years. Conflicts with police and Department of Fisheries and Oceans officers have broke out in the past few months at the Sto'lo/Pilalt Nation reserve of Cheam. Members of the Cheam First Nation blockaded a Canadian National railway that runs through their land on October 2, 2003, to oppose logging and a ski-hill development in the Elk Creek forest on Mount Cheam, which is spearheaded by Cattermole Timber and Resorts West. Five Saanich First Nations, with support from the West Coast Warriors Society, are currently preparing to use direct action in preventing the establishment of a commercial fishery on their territory.

Political Organizations and the Indigenous Struggle

For anyone willing to look at the situation, it is easy to see that all political organizations, in BC and elsewhere, are always marginal to the struggle of indigenous peoples. In other words, no political party, trade union or activist group, including even the indigenous ones, can be said to represent or promote the interests of indigenous communities.

Although many political organizations make claims of solidarity with indigenous struggles, in practice there is not even a trace of it. In part, this is because political organizations are organizations of synthesis – meaning that they aim to integrate different individuals, groups and communities into a manageable and controllable whole, under their leadership. They see their fundamental task as recruiting members, since an increase in membership is supposed to correspond to an increase in the political power of the organization. The struggle takes a backseat, and independent initiative and action are condemned. Orders and information are handed down from the top. The organization is an end in itself. Because of their orientation of synthesis, political organizations tend to develop a narrow mentality which sees indigenous peoples as a uniform mass, not recognizing or acknowledging the significant differences between specific nations, the communities and social classes within nations, and the individuals within communities.

Meanwhile, the indigenous struggle continues on its own, according to its own needs. When corporations move in to destroy the land, the only meaningful solution reveals itself as self-organized direct action, as seen in the activity of the Native Youth Movement and the various other blockades and actions that have sprung up from indigenous communities under attack. The heavy ideological bureaucracies promoted by political organizations are not only unnecessary, but also slow down and detract from the self-managed struggle of indigenous peoples. The unending cycle of pointless meetings, forums and symbolic protests waste time and energy and impose unnatural rhythms on the movement which are not its own. But direct action is important for another reason – because the external forces of colonization and genocide create internal social problems in Native communities which must be faced. Feelings of apathy and powerlessness must be challenged by the advancement of an insurgent attitude amongst the new generation of Native youth, an attitude which calls into question class divisions within indigenous communities, and which promotes direct action, self-organization and attack on the corporations who are destroying the people and the land. Every small victory achieved through direct action reveals individual and collective strength and creates a sense of empowerment which uplifts the spirit of the people.

November 24, 2003

This was taken from a larger essay. For the complete version, check out:

www.geocities.com/insurrectionary_anarchists



"WE'RE NOT HERE TO MAKE
FRIENDS OR MAKE YOU FEEL GOOD,
WE'RE HERE TO RAISE QUESTIONS
AND SHATTER ILLUSIONS"
- Green Anarchy

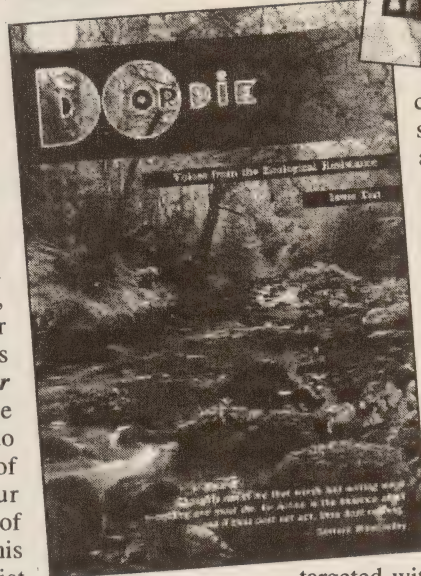
Do Or Die: Voices from the Ecological Resistance Issue #10 (the final issue)

This outstanding journal of action reports and analysis from the worldwide ecological frontlines has been published semi-annually since 1992, and is irrefutably one of the highest caliber anarchist publications to appear anywhere in the last 10 or 15 years. This latest issue is a whopping 383 pages (!) – almost the size of a Dostoyevsky novel – full of first-rate investigative reporting, explicitly anarchist news analysis, loads of interviews, and a (frankly) overwhelming list of international networking links.

This issue contains a fascinating and thoroughly researched overview of the last ten years of ecological resistance in Britain called "Down with the Empire! Up with Spring!", as well as an in-depth look at the strategy and tactics of the hard-hitting SHAC campaign called "SHAC Attack!"

Other highlights of *Do Or Die* #10 include an inspirational interview with eco-revolutionary Rod Coronado and one kick-ass article after the next on ecological resistance in Central and South America, Oceania, and just about every other part of the world. Sadly, this is the last issue of *Do Or Die*, as the publishers have all decided to move on to other projects and forms of struggle. So we urge our readers to pick up a copy of the "Swan Song" issue of this one-of-a-kind eco-anarchist "bible" while supplies last.

Do or Die, c/o Prior House, 6 Tilbury
Place, Brighton, U.K. BN2 2GY
doordtp@yahoo.co.uk
www.eco-action.org/dod/



Reviews

We had hoped to review more pamphlets, zines, and books that we could turn people onto, especially those from an anti-civilization, anarchist-feminist, indigenous, direct action, or situationist-inspired perspective, but we have not found very much to be excited about lately. We, of course, appreciate the vital and insightful staples, like *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*, and other comrades like the anarcho-primitivist publications: *Species Traitor* (from Pennsylvania) and *Green Anarchist* (from the UK), but it has been hard to find many new things to mention. This, of course, does not mean they're not out there, so send us what we have overlooked. Also, feel free to send us a review (under 800 words) of any zine, pamphlet, book, cd, or film that you feel strongly about (positively or negatively).

Bite Back!

This is the newest magazine dedicated to the advocacy of the underground animal liberation movement and its prisoners. It has a glossy look, most likely designed to appeal to a more mainstream or hip reader, yet doesn't compromise in militant content. *Bite Back* provides updates on prisoners and direct action, contains the most up-to-date info on those fuckers who torture and kill animals for profit, includes inspirational stories, and is informative about



system is done away with. While there are some aspects of animal rights moralism and single-issued pleas (although less than in most literature of this type), it is one of the more effective animal lib propaganda and news magazines around, and definitely worth checking out. *BB* comes out quarterly, and is free. Their website (www.DirectAction.info) is also an amazing resource in keeping up with current actions.

Bite Back, 222 Lakeview
Ave, Ste. 160-231, West
Palm Beach, FL 33401,
BiteBack@DirectAction.info

Slug and Lettuce

(reviewed by Arm 'n Hama)

"Punk's Not Dead, It's Just Really Depressed"

This review will most likely end up pissing off many of the more defensive self-identified punks, since we are being critical of a punk institution (and to some extent, the punk scene itself), but isn't that what punk is all about - destroying all institutions, raw honesty, and constantly redefining who we are and what we are doing? Or is it about feeling good about the scenes we carve out for ourselves, no matter how insular, dysfunctional, delusional, apathetic, and uninspiring they may be? Some will no doubt say (and have said), "who the fuck are y'all to criticize punk." Well, we are punks, people influenced by punk, or folks who have been very interactive with punk scenes for most of our lives. We also feel that punk has had much to offer and still has the potential to be a gateway or a path to radical politics and action. Punk started as a rejection of superficial idealism and consumption, and became a vehicle for people to get in touch with their rage. It was a potent method of becoming empowered to unleash that rage on

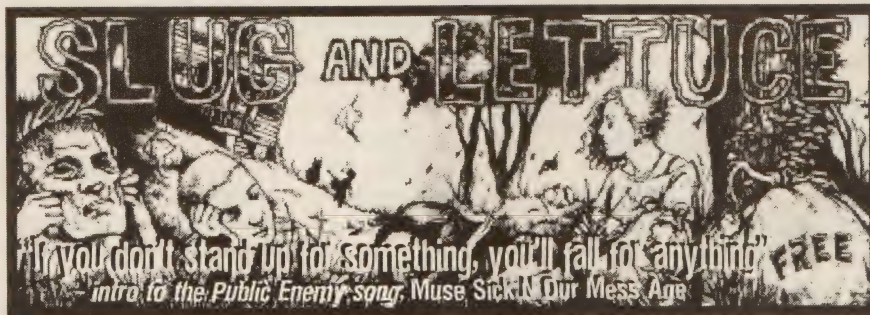
the establishment, but punk has largely become something which now co-opts that rage and turns it into just another part of the spectacle and scene.

Some will write off this review as "sour grapes" for *Green Anarchy* being dismissed and given negative reviews by *S&L* in the past (i.e. issue #75: "...my advice to those interested in reading *Green Anarchy*, bring along a good bullshit detector." - Wispy). Yet, in fact, *GA* got a great review in the current issue (thanks to Christine, the editor), but so did almost everything else, which brings us to our main point... almost zero critical

analysis of not only the punk scene (which is in desperate need of some), but the increasingly fucked-up and devastating world we live in. I know that already there are some punks getting out their pens and paper to write us a "fuck you" letter, but hold on... We are not saying that punk is stupid or useless, but that it has lost a lot of its passion, political urgency, self-reflective desire, and anti-establishment edge. It has become a scene, not that dissimilar from the one that deadheads created around music and counter-culture. Sure, there are people within both scenes who are actively fighting oppression and creating DIY (Do-It-Yourself) projects and networks, to be more self-sufficient and less dependent on the system. But many folks are just playing into a fashion show and looking for an escape they can rationalize (aesthetic and recreational dessent). This is where self-criticism is vital.

You may remember in *GA* issue #12, an editors' note after an article called "Towards An Effective Praxis," which challenged the sanctimonious rantings of Mike Antipathy's "Burning the Church of the Sacred Arsonist: a few reasons why the ELF can kiss my ass" (*Antipathy* #8), in which he wrote pages upon pages of dismissive comments about the Earth Liberation Front (people who put their asses on the line to fight against the death-machine). In that same issue of *Antipathy*, huge amounts of treeflesh were wasted dismissing and ridiculing the anarchist movement, without offering any alternatives but reformist campaigns and immersing oneself in self-indulgent punk travel escapades. We bring this up not because we don't think the anarchist and the radical environmental movements are beyond criticism (there should always be a challenging of ideas and strategies), or because we are against personal liberation and fun (that's right, we're not puritanical activists or rigid "revolutionaries"); but because we feel that the punk scene is pretty absent of self-criticism, because of the feedback we got from people who said "how dare you criticize punk", and because Mike has a regular column

in *S&L*, and in fact they reprinted his article on the ELF. So let's try to distill this: don't criticize punk, in fact only paint it with plastic smiles and rosy cheeks; but let's dismiss those who are risking imprisonment and reprisal for attempting to directly challenge the death-culture... sound somewhat backwards? We think so.



So, anyway, back to *Slug and Lettuce*... To inform those outside the reach of the punk scene, this paper has been a long-time punk journal, review rag, Do-It-Yourself guide, and ad space for record and punk paraphernalia distributors. At this, they are relatively successful, and do offer some interesting information in each issue, especially in the DIY arena. The most noteworthy aspect of this project is the fact that it has been free for over a decade. It currently has a press run of 10,000, making it a grassroots alternative to *Maximum Rock and Roll* and *Punk Planet*. While there are occasional articles of interest, overall, this paper is lacking in radical content. Each issue is flooded with self-congratulatory statements about how "awesome" the punk scene is (gag), unending reports about how inspiring the last show was (snooze), and liberal-at-best commentary on the state of the world (hiccup), oh yeah, and vegan recipes (burp). Are there amazing people and happenings in the punk world? ...no doubt, but not any more so then in any other counter-cultural

ghetto. Having an entire publication dedicated to boosting the morale and self-esteem of any scene (the anarchist scene included) seems a little absurd outside the occasional personal zine. As a personal zine, *S&L* would be just one of thousands of voices which make up a collective discussion about our experiences in the punk and anarchist worlds, but unfortunately this zine has become one of the predominant "underground press" papers for thousands of punks. Some might say *S&L* is only providing a forum for punks to express themselves... so why do punks have so little to say these days?

Each issue is roughly divided into three parts: editorial and columns, zine and music reviews, and advertisements. To pay for printing and mailing, ads are sprinkled throughout, generally for records, music distributors, and punk tours. Most zine reviews, from an assortment of contributors, are hyper-enthusiastic, yet cynical and

dismissive of anything shying too far from euphoric personal travel-ogues or persistent cries of depression. They seem to have distaste for anything overtly anarchist or direct-action focused. Each issue starts out with an editorial/personal feelings piece by Christine, and a number

of regular columns, such as: the super enthusiastic and overly sentimental "go gardeners" column by "mad farmer sascha"; the self-righteous "why I'm traveling the world or cutting down trees while y'all are wasting time tryin' to fight the system" column by Mike Antipathy ("Ecopunk"); a sometimes informative, but often reformist "Radical Mother"; *S&L*'s "anarchist" column, "Merrydeath," which asks us to "...take a deep breath and vote against the ass (G.W.) in the next election," because, "if everyone who

reads this votes, maybe we have a chance of de-throning the fuckers."; Carolyn's progressive "Crossroads" which encourages us to fight the system from within by combing our hair, covering up our tattoos, putting on straight clothes, stepping out of the streets, and getting a job with the EPA or other "helpful" government agencies (oh yeah, and replacing our incandescent light bulbs with compact fluorescents (CFL's) to save energy, money,

and stop pollution); and a number of other regular, irregular, and guest columns sure to motivate you to do "something"(!).

Sure, gardening, gray water systems, composting toilets, bikes, homebrew beer, Food Not Bombs, dumpster-diving, vegan 'meat' loaf, punk shows, and adventures in Mexico are great, they just don't do a hell of a lot to challenge the system (which is enslaving most of the world, committing genocide, and destroying the biosphere) on any meaningful level... how about resistance (usually the last subject discussed, and usually limited to the latest Mumia rally or Critical Mass)?



The "radical" politics of *Slug and Lettuce*

Hey, if we don't fight, then there is no revolution! One of the more annoying parts of the paper is linguistic: the editor obviously does not have spell-check on their computer, and someone seems to do a word replacement of "punk" for every positive adjective used. Finally, this paper is clearly ageist and ableist, since the print size is about half the size of what you are reading right now (just a little PC humor to lighten things up a bit). Again, there is the sporadic insightful remark or column, but overall, *Slug and Lettuce* is rather disappointing.

By the way, we've heard through the grapevine that the new issue of *Antipathy* is out (all 20 copies of it), and that it is going to "piss us off," so stay tuned for our review of that one in our next issue. Of course, we're sure that we'll be the ones catchin' shit for our brief response to more of *Antipathy*'s unending pompous diatribes, and the self-absorbed punk scene is sure to be "up in arms" that we have taken shots at their beyond reproach eco-punk hero (who has been disengaged from the anarchist scene for a number of years now, yet thinks we care what his opinion of it or *GA* is, and meanwhile, designs timber sales for the forest service and passes them off as "environmentally friendly" and "anarcho-realist").

Slug and Lettuce, c/o Christine, PO Box 26632, Richmond, VA 23261-6632

Profane Existence

(Now, on a more positive note...) The anarcho-punk resource magazine from Minneapolis is back to "making punk a threat again!" While the politics of *PE* tend to lean more towards the classical/class war end of anarchism than the green or primitivist (although it tries to be non-sectarian and open), as far as established punk periodicals go, this is probably one of the more relevant and challenging. The long-running *PE* has been resurrected once again to fill a void within the DIY anarcho-punk scene. Its format is similar to *S&L*, with regular columns (some interesting, some passé, some confusing), numerous reviews (which, at times, could be more critical), ads, and an actions and events calendar of upcoming protests and anarchist gatherings. It also has something often missing in your average punk zine: kick! While it still tends to glorify the punk scene on certain levels, it goes beyond the insular back-patting, and strives to create a genuine revolutionary anarcho-punk movement. Fully embracing an insurrectionary agenda

(although sometimes overly simplistic), *PE* is not afraid to step out of the carrot patches, record stores, and punk shows, and into a world which is worth fighting for.

Issue #43/Summer-Fall 2003, has a special "Black Bloc Primer", which was provided by the **CrimethInc. Black Writer's Bloc** (PO Box 2133, Greensboro, NC 27402 – www.crimethinc.com). It is a comprehensive

introduction and "how to" manual on all forms of Bloc activities. While there are some objectionable parts, most notably the sections on not alienating potential liberal allies, and also the supposed need to "intervene" in attacks on "unacceptable" targets (small businesses, cars, etc.), for the most part, it is an overdue and impressive primer. This issue also has an interview with the mysterious author of the often controversial book,

Evasion (CrimethInc). While "Mack" tends to be somewhat arrogant and cocky, the interview has some interesting situationist elements to it. My favorite part is when he rails on "traveler kids" who missed the point of his book, which was not to be a leach off generous people and expect others to provide for you, but instead, figure out ways to scam the system (not your friends). While this paper is not perfect, we are sure encouraged to see some life moving back into the corpse of the North American punk scene. They're producing 20,000 copies per issue, which (for now) are still free, so they definitely could use some support. Some other relevant punk publications (although still somewhat limited in "revolutionary" and "insurrectionary" content) are: the ambitious Do-It-Yourself focused *Black Thorn* (PO Box 11046, Portland, OR 97211), and occasionally, but certainly no always, *Heartattack* (PO Box 848 Goleta, CA 93116 heartattack@bullition.com).

Profane Existence, PO Box 8722, Minneapolis, MN 55408, blackened@visi.com, www.profaneexistence.com



Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs by the Curious George Brigade

This little book talks about basic alternatives facing today's anti-authoritarian movement(s). The dinosaurs of the title refers to those still caught up in past models for taking on the Juggernaut of domination. Insofar as their orientation is that of the values of Organization, Efficiency, Duty, and Mass, dinosaurs are what we should be rejecting.

In one of the very best *Crimethinc* offerings to date, *AAD* paints a lively picture of leaderless resistance embodying autonomy, flexibility, openness and decentralization. This is the language of what is truly subversive in our era. The healthy energy of this book is a marvelous, daring tonic: highly recommended!

www.crimethinc.com

North Eastern Anarchist

The Fall/Winter '03 issue of the *Northeastern Anarchist* is devoted even more than usual—if that's possible—to its workerist/productionist/unionist credo. Here are a couple of offerings.

"Pissed off Projectionists" is a very lengthy account of the year-long effort of two movie theater employees to organize their jobs into the International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees, AFL-CIO. After expending an enormous amount of time and energy they succeeded, only to admit that they never

really pushed for demands beyond union recognition.

This non-radical approach is entirely in keeping with the politics of *NA* as the voice of the Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC). Similarly, I don't think NEFAC has ever pointed out the unpleasant structural truth about unionism: each local is the private property of the international union. Talk of rank-

and-file democracy or revolt, when this reality goes unchallenged, is therefore nonsense. Likewise, no mention of the iron web of federal labor law that controls union activity. To point out these basics would seem anti-



union, no doubt. (There is a huge difference, by the way, between being anti-union and being anti-worker.)

"The Sad Conceit of Participatory Economics" gets off to a fairly promising start, presenting a critical analysis of Michael Albert's scheme for preserving and "democratizing" the present society, AKA Parecon. With his dreary bureaucratic outlook, Albert has no problem with the continued existence of banks, factories, etc., and imagines that people would be happy to sit in endless, boring meetings to figure out "production" and "consumption" schedules and the like. Truly a leftist fantasy of running what is fundamentally the same old oppressive world.

"Sad Conceit" points to Parecon's insistence on participation in this scheme as "part of one's obligations," rightly asking, "Our obligations! Enforced by who?" The article concludes with the counter vision of anarchist communism. Predictably, given NEFAC's ideology, disappointment quickly set in for this reader. The anarcho-commie outlook, some vague rhetoric aside, is no different from Albert's Parecon delusions.

For example, work is certainly not to be abolished. We are admonished that "with freedom comes a generalized responsibility to ensure [that] society maintains itself." The question posed to Albert applies here as well: who enforces this "generalized responsibility"? Also, how does the responsibility to ensure society's maintenance differ from Albert's commitment to the cardinal existing institutions? Sounds like ensuring mass production and mass society, insofar as NEFAC doesn't question basics like these.

Overall, I wonder why this zine isn't called the *Northeastern Communist*, since in NEFAC "anarcho" is a qualifying adjective attached to the noun "communist". NA continues the old leftist/collectivist tradition and is not where anarchy is going these days. Surviving lefties, their numbers dwindling, apparently know that the A-word is a kind of minimum definition of what it means to be radically opposed to the reigning death march. The question is, does the anarchist tag mean they really *are* opposed?

AK Press

It may seem odd to review a distribution catalog, but we feel there are a number of important things which must be said. We should start by saying there are definitely a good number of important books and pamphlets to be ordered from this 200 page-plus catalog, and in fact, many are virtually impossible to obtain any other way (although they do tend to be out of quite a number of their supposed distribution, and also advertise titles which do not exist). The problem, however, lies in a huge number of very questionable texts, and just as important, what is missing. By far, the largest number of books

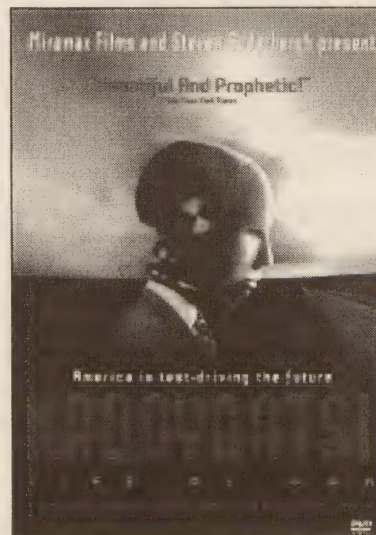
and pamphlets in their catalogue are by the insurrectionary anarchist, Noam Chomsky - that's a joke. Chomsky is certainly opposed to any sort of insurrectionary activity, and is only an anarchist because people unaware of what that term means have called him that. As of late, he has even supported nation-states, as opposed to the global corporate elite (would you like the firing squad or the gas chamber?). Sure, he has some detailed facts about U.S. foreign policy which might come in handy for your next term paper, but does an anarchist distributor really need to carry every piece of paper the man shits on...oh that's right, the liberals and leftists with the cash eat it up because it challenges almost nothing in terms of basics.

They also carry a huge assortment of your other favorite leftist and progressive authors, including their newest series of 'freedom archives' which are all on socialism and democracy (neither of which have anything to do with freedom). The bulk of the anarchist books and publications are syndicalist, classical, or communist in orientation. One might think that they are non-sectarian, and want to show all sides of radical thought. Well, one might think

so if there was not a huge glaring hole (almost anything anti-civilization) in what they distribute. While they do carry a few of John Zerzan's books, they either have almost no description (unlike any of their other books), or in the case of *Running On Emptiness*, a smart-ass and hostile description, sure to get the orders rolling in (again, unlike any other book descriptions, which are usually smothered in compliments, even for the most atrocious of titles). Then, in their extensive zine and periodical section, one could easily find the most current (that's an ironic choice of words) leftist-anarchist publications, but it would be hard to come across any title you would connect with green anarchy and anarcho-primitivism. The closest you will find, is the once radical, now tepid and pacifist, *Fifth Estate*, which is apparently, "the leading protagonist of the anti-technology world-view." So, where is *Green Anarchy*, or any other anti-civilization publication? Could it just be a mistake, or maybe a case of selective memory? Well, we recently had a chance to ask one of the main people at *AK Press* this question, to which he responded: "*Green Anarchy is NOT anarchism!*" Hum, well, we do like to draw a distinction between "anarchy" (an organic and open process) and "anarchism" (which can be a bit historic and limited), but

come on, we ARE anarchists! To which we were told, "*Anarchism is a very specific methodology for organizing economic and social conditions.*" In other words, anarchism IS what a handful of dead white guys said it was over a century ago (complete with federations and factories), and if you have your own perspective or "individualist" agenda, you are not an anarchist. So, they'll carry every leftist, communist, progressive, art, personal growth, identity politics, single issue, film, music, etc. title you can think of (not to mention their *AK Press* trinkets), but pretend that the anti-civilization current is either an irrelevant minor fringe or that we don't exist at all. We won't even get into

the fact that *AK Press* represents itself as "the" North American anarchist distributor, and has become the Starbucks of the anarchist press, often causing smaller distributors to shut down. And, if I see one more person wearing a black hoodie with an *AK Press* logo on it, I'm gonna scream! I guess they're kinda like the Nike swoosh, too. Anyway, start your own distribution, or at least support smaller and more localized ones, and it wouldn't hurt to drop *AK Press* a line and confront them; but I'm sure, like



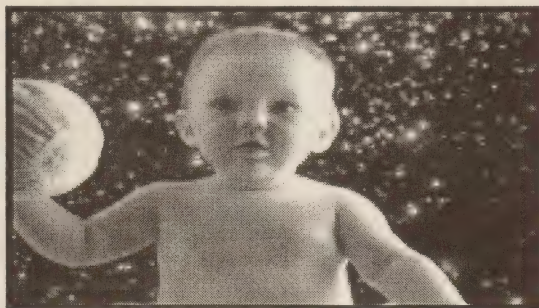
any money-making outfit, they have their public relations people to sell you their excuses.

**AK Press Distribution, 674-A 23rd Street,
Oakland, CA 94612,
ph: 510-208-1700, fax: 510-208-1701,
email: akpress@akpress.org,
web: www.akpress.org**

Naqoyqatsi (Life as War) by Godfrey Reggio

This is the recently released conclusion to Godfrey Reggio's experimental and non-narrated *Qatsi-trilogy*, also including: *Koyaanisqatsi (Life Out of Balance)* and *Powaqqatsi (Life in Transition)*. It focuses on the impact of the digital world on our culture. Going far beyond the simplistic mode of information-based documentaries, we are presented with memorable images within the technological world through which they travel. *Naqoyqatsi* (nah koy' kahtsee), from the Hopi language (a life of killing each other, war as a way of life, civilized violence), depicts the globalized and homogenized moment of our present time, in which the new divine is the manufactured image of techno-

fascism, where cyborg "unity" is held together by fiber optics and the computer. Unlike the first two films, which were shot in real locations, the visual imagery in *Naqoyqatsi* was created by digital technology in virtual locations using stock and archival images that we are familiar with. The images are distorted



and manipulated with a computer to create manufactured and ghost images. According to Reggio, "Right now, image is more important than truth or reality. Look at the political spectrum, it's all about the image of something. So this third film deals squarely with the image as its principal subject matter, the manufactured image in the globalization of the world."

While the film moves slowly in the beginning, and sometimes comes across as a new-age meditation film or background mood-setter (complete with fractals), it eventually works into an intense barrage and free-flowing collage of imagery. The visuals are complemented by a cyclical and rhythmic minimalist orchestral score arranged by Philip Glass, and includes cellist Yo-Yo Ma. Don't let the title fool you, it is not a composite of conventional "war" pictures, but it instead goes deeper, into the war of the images of standardization, singularity, and techno-domination.

"The whole point of view of *Naqoyqatsi* is that through the dogma/religion point of view of progress and development, which is not only a capitalist agenda but also a Marxist agenda—that very paradigm consumes, and eats, and pulls out of the sockets people who live a handmade life. I was criticized when I made that film by leftists in Germany, for romanticizing poverty, for trying to eliminate industrialization and, therefore, a better way of living...My intention was to say that standards of living are ephemeral. The standard of living of the world is based on First World norms, of consumption, of the institutionalization of life, of giving up your own control to the control of others. The very opposite is true in the so-called Third World or Southern hemisphere, where really, the heritage of the earth exists not only in nature but in human development. Small, convivial, decentralized societies of handmade living, where things can be uniquely different, valley to valley, plain to plain. The world that we're trying to throw, through the IMF etc. on the southern hemisphere, is a world of homogenized value. A world where Los Angeles, Jakarta, Hong Kong, the Philippines etc. all look the same...The very founding, for example, of the United Nations, was founded on the dogma, on the theology, on the

philosophy of promoting progress and development around the world as our guarantee for world peace. Now what crazier thought could you have? ...their very purpose is to produce this homogenizing event all over the world. For me this is the essence of techno-fascism, and it's another example of how the Northern hemisphere is consuming, without question, the Southern hemisphere...consumed to create and further develop the technological order, which for me, is a fascistic venture."

- Godfrey Reggio

(Check out our Spring '03 - issue #12 for an interview with Godfrey Reggio.)

The entire *Qatsi*-trilogy is now available on DVD - www.qatsi.org

Sonic Jihad by Paris

This album is without a doubt one of the best independent releases of 2003 and is by far one of the strongest responses to the New World Order that we've encountered in ANY medium, audio or otherwise. This album rains fire and brimstone, roving over scenes of a struggle that seems as endless as it is brutal, as Paris flings himself into the center of every current political storm, turning the experience into epic allegory in a guerrilla raid of passion, rage, vision and poetic virtuosity.

Paris - best known for his stirring, prophetic 1990 release, *The Devil Made Me Do It* and its equally defiant and incendiary follow-up, *Sleeping With the Enemy* - has made a serious artistic and political comeback with this latest effort, which more than makes up for 1997's puzzling and disappointing *Unleashed*. In a climate of mass media manufactured fear and paranoia, Paris exhibits the courage and integrity of a true revolutionary, releasing a series of strident and insistent messages to the scattered armies of the night, offering warnings and comfort and exhortations to keep moving, to keep fighting this genocidal power structure, to "overthrow the hold of this devil control."

On a purely musical level, this album displays an open-ended stylistic eclecticism that embraces all that is vital in revolutionary hip-hop culture. Mixing startling rhythmic shifts with multi-layered sampling and subtle, ingenious

production touches, Paris digs deeply into the legends, history and myths of revolutionary struggle and brings them all together to form a single, vast, stirring story of Resistance. Battling for survival in a blasted urban soundscape, this album has an astonishing immediacy, like something scrawled on the run on subway walls, with the Gestapo in hot pursuit.

On a lyrical and political level, Paris has matured considerably, which is not to say he's mellowed out with age! Still rallying like a streetfighter, Paris refuses to beat around the bush and instead beats ON the Bush - and his whole "Skull and Bones/Freemason kill committee".

The visceral impact of this album is shattering (of liberal illusions) - like a rocket-propelled grenade fired at the chest to determine if you're still alive or if your heart has already stopped beating. The first time I heard this album it was like being ambushed by guerrilla de-programmers determined to smash "this propaganda matrix where the sheep just die" and draw as many soldiers out of the closet and into the struggle as possible, to "spit caps outta gats till the Beast collapse!" Since then I haven't stopped listening to it, and see *Sonic Jihad* as part distress signal/part recruitment tool, drawing clear lines between oppressors and victims, killers and targets, and reaching for the most dangerous themes and images of our time to fulfill the age-old dream of human freedom.

This album isn't "background" music, and it isn't for the faint of heart - immersing yourself in this album will force you to consider whether you're still part of the human race or just another numb spectator, watching the rise of fascism on cable TV. This album is a declaration of war, a communique from the depths of Amerikkka's twelve-track underground, a molotov cocktail hurled both to burn AND to illuminate. Highly, highly recommended.

Available at most radical hip-hop record stores or www.guerrillafunk.com



NEWS FROM THE BALCONY WITH WALDORF AND STATLER

CRASS OPPORTUNISM

Seems there's a bunch of self-styled anarchists way out there in San Francisco campaigning to get Mr. Matt Gonzalez of the Green Party elected mayor. The reasoning asserts that such an election would be an "important victory" and a "step in the right direction" toward making survival marginally more tolerable for a little while longer.

These managers-in-waiting sent out a press release (*complete with a list of many familiar signatures!*) on one of those inter-web pages haranguing "radical activists" to not only vote in this mess, but to also "phone bank, table, and get out lit[erature] in neighborhoods." Who'da ever think that toeing the line of the status quo was so *revolutionary*! Apparently these mediocre anarchists have lost interest in being enemies of the State and will now settle for being its guilty conscience.

As pathetic as all this rightfully sounds, the caveat is that they *of course don't actually believe* electing Gonzalez will accomplish anything in and of itself: "We urge you to get involved not because we expect that Gonzalez would solve our problems, rather that a victory by this coalition will help build our power to solve our own problems." Yup, you read that right—all the energy wasted on this joke is *not to actually elect Mr. Gonzalez*, but just an *opportunity* to build another vague and ephemeral "movement." You whippersnappers want to *build a movement*? Try chugging some Metamucil first thing in the morning!

More leftspeak dribble: "We write to you as radicals who believe that power comes from the bottom up and that people's movements make history. We argue for a diversity of tactics in an overall strategy to oppose capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, heterosexism and imperialism. We see this election as one of many tactics that we should use to help us build our movements."

So, is this then cynicism or paternalism? I get confused, like that whole tactics vs. strategy conversation that always puts me to sleep—but then again, when you're as old as we are, pretty much everything puts you to sleep!

Hardly even worth the effort of a good heckle!

COULD FOOD NOT BOMBS DO TODAY WHAT IT TOOK A METEORITE TO DO BEFORE?

There is a great deal of charm in the wish that butterfly wings and 'alternative' infrastructure are instruments of social change. We wish that Ben-Gay and our Craftmatic adjustable bed were tools for the revolution (and they are!) but *accept* that they just happen to be things that we like, and that those are not necessarily the same thing. Not so the Curious George Brigade. "In fluid situations such as a demonstration, seemingly inconsequential events can often shift the tone or direction of the entire 'system', leading to

chaos in the best possible sense of the word."

While we may not have anything to demonstrate (although if you please, we could show you the 1001 comfort positions of our Craftmatic adjustable bed) we recognize that those who do are often also going to sell you a whole lot more than you bargain for... In this case the Brigade, with the able help of the Crimethinc organization, is shilling for their book, "Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs". While we could take the title (and primary thematic metaphor) personally, instead we will lament the conclusion stated on the back cover. "Folk Anarchy is the name we have given to the arrow aimed at the heart of every dinosaur..." The last thing we need is to replace multi-national capitalism, anarcho-boring, or the police state with Joan fucking Baez or suburban kids playing banjo.

Boo!!! Hiss!

HOW MANY TIMES MUST YOU RUN INTO A BRICK WALL TO GET COMMON SENSE?

It seems as though the postmodern power brokers have become wary of public scrutiny, public outrage, or even public awareness of their activities. Unless you count the embedded (with the cops) reporters everyone on the inside of the fence in Miami wore a uniform or a suit. Like lemmings, the standard issue of social changers paraded, chanted, and sang Kumbaya far away from the people whose lack of ambivalence could matter.

The simplicity of a siege appeals to our sense of feng shui. You have the prize in the middle, surrounded on all sides by layers of approaches. Archers, battering rams, foot soldiers, cavalry, and strategists all have their place on the outside. Within, you have cauldrons of oil, sturdy walls and barbicans. The balance and metaphorical beauty is timeless.

What is not timeless is the image of Miami TV interviewing dumb-as-a-bag-of-doorknobs anarchists who are willing to puff out their chest and claim a bigger dick than the Miami PD. "Yeah, fuck you! We are not going to roll over like the little bitches that you think we are..." Ouch, wash that boy's mouth out with soap! There is no beauty to a siege when all the kids we would rather give a nickel to, choose to go toe-to-toe with assholes twice their size, in armor, and the full array of non-lethal proto-military armaments that post-911 budgets have given to every police force. Not that we want to be telling you what to do, but the best place for people during a siege is not *as* the battering ram.

Go back to casting!

**News from the Balcony* is a regular column from the two most crotchety anarchists out there. They offer a spicy and no-holds-barred analysis of the anarchist movement...a sort of gossip column for the scene. While we don't always agree with their senile rantings, they are provocative, and for puppets there certainly doesn't seem to be anyone pulling their strings!



LETTERS



Thanks for the input, criticisms, and support! One of the main things which keeps us going (along with our undying desire for liberation and passion to destroy the machine) is the flood of enthusiastic and appreciative support we get from people. While we have our critics and there are those who are cynical of our orientation, we get dozens of letters and emails a week from folks who value the thankless and tiresome work that goes into this project. Even we are amazed at the extent that the questions and critique we raise have resonated with people from all over the world and all walks of life. It certainly makes us feel that our time is not wasted, and gives us hope. These are just a sampling of what we have received. Sorry, we can not print them all because of space, so we prioritize prisoners, first-timers, discussions which help to further the development of an anarchist and anti-civilization project, and feedback which directly responds to our last issue. Keep your letters coming, and please, try to keep them under 500 words (Some letters may be slightly edited for space or redundancy).

Never Give In, Never Compromise

Greetings Comrades,
Firstly I am writing to let you know I received the fall paper. It is always spiritually uplifting when the paper is slid under my cage door. After so many years of forward marching, stagnation, forward marching and stagnation, it is wonderful to know people of your nature continue to exist. GA is so beautiful, loving and free. For ten years my soul has cried out for GA. Its cry was smoldered

with nationalism or some form of masked communism. The soul in all of humanity cries out for GA. It is imperative that you continue to exist without compromise. The world needs you. GA is freedom, freedom from jails, isolation, greed, poverty, destruction of our planet and its people. I ask that you never give in, never compromise. The world is depending on you.

Love freedom!
Clarence Faire #11059-007
USP Atlanta
P.O. Box 150160
Atlanta, GA 30315

Tactical Training

Brothers and Sisters,
Thanks for another kick-ass issue of GA (#12). The whole thing was great, especially "Lessons from the Fall of Rome." Good analogy. "Does Not Compute" wasn't so great but still acceptable. (Computers are just tools, like guns.)

You have a lot of good pamphlets, zines, books and videos listed in your distro section but I would really like to see some hard-core greens get together and do a zine strictly on *tactics*. After all, in most cases you are preaching to the choir. A lot of us don't need propaganda to convince us, we're already converted! What those of us who are geographically far removed from the scene in Eugene need is tactical training and instruction. What's the best way to spike? Incendiary what? How to monkeywrench a seemingly indestructible Caterpillar D-9 bulldozer? You feel me? Your thoughts please.

As for a new name... how about "*Uncivilized*," *A Journal of Green Anarchy*. Has a nice ring to it, doesn't it?

In solidarity,
Hewlett M. Jarrett
#B24778

2600 N. Brinton
Dixon, IL 61021

(home of Ronald Reagan - shall I burn it to the ground?)

The Will to Struggle

Dear GA,
Hello. This is Brad Heath coming at you from the one and only (Wall's) in Missouri. It's the oldest standing state pen in Missouri, don't know about the other 51 states. I'm writing you to say thanks for issue #13 you sent me. I've been unable to write due to filing a lawsuit and that takes a lot if not all of your money to do so. We don't get info here, we are shut off from what we need to be turned on to and that's your paper. I'm stuck in the hole for an assault

on a pig. I'm not allowed to make phone calls. We have no access to news at all. They have stripped us of all things that will give us ammo to fight the war we are losing. I get out next year after doing 4 1/2 flat years, but before I go I want to start something. It's a correspondence pen-pal line for all convicts and people on the street who can take the time to surf the net and find stuff to help us fight at this point (We can call it "The Will to Struggle"). I'm unable to do those duties with the computers but I can do the paper work and we can grow stronger. We have ones who are willing to fight but can't do it alone. A lot of people have nothing to lose, right, but what's the good of running into a brick wall headfirst? We need outside help. Right now I'm working on making contact with someone in each prison in Missouri and try to get movement in order so we can move together as one and make a change. I would also be real thankful if you could send me a paper. Is there a way I can get one every time one is made? Please contact if you are looking for a pen-pal. Well my GA brothers and sisters, this is Brad signing off, better known as Taz.

**-destructively
Equipped, Taz**
Brad Heath 1052444
MSP/PO Box 900

Jefferson City, MO 65102
(locked up for breaking state witness's jaw and right arm and hand go home 9-22-04.)

No Longer Sittin' Back

Dear GA,
I am writing this to tell you how grateful I am, that you are sending me your newsletter. I'm not real big on wordplay, but I wanted to thank you for the wonderful knowledge I have gained. Before I was gifted with the reading of it, I was ignorant of a lot of the resistance going on around the world. I see

that now, more than ever, the abolishment of today's civilization must come to pass. Human kind is destroying the only thing that sustains our lives. The earth is our only means of survival, and she is slowly dying. I've known this fact for years, but I have just now opened my eyes, and realized that I can no longer sit back and watch while this happens. It's time for all to move forward towards direct action against these murdering oppressions. It's said that technology will help us to overcome famine, war, etc... My opinion! Tear down the dealerships, office buildings, whatever. Stop building bigger and more destructive weapons, so others will stop. Stop building lines between culture or race, so that we won't need these weapons. I'm just sick and tired of the lies the government feeds to the people. I see now that I am not alone in this thinking. All of this I have learned!

In closing once again I thank you for your help bringing me to this glorious sight of enlightenment. I'm looking forward to the next issue of your newsletter. Upon my release I hope to visit you, and show my gratitude in person.

To the destruction of civilization.
Nemesis

Reluctantly Convinced

Hello GA,

I've been reading your fine publication since #11, and I've found it insightful, bold, and inspiring. *Green Anarchy*, along with my own reluctant observations, discussions with a close friend, and other publications, have brought me to realize (if, perhaps, sometimes kicking and screaming... for a while I was helping to distribute *Onward*, my enthusiasm partly based on an editor's simple-minded,

accusatory refusal of primitivist insights, and my reactionary organizational fetishism) that there can be no reconnection to or existence with "nature" (or ourselves) as long as we insist on preserving this industrialized, mediated mass society.

Anyhoo, some of us down here in the beautiful Orange County want to help start an infoshop/space (or at least a distro until then), and I'd like to order a few, nay, a great many things...JUST SEND THEM ALL (please). That's right, you heard me, one of each. I don't mean to swallow your single voice whole and make it my own, you just carry such good stuff, in one convenient location... You have my utmost thanks.

Keep up the
fantastic work!
Love EGC



Dumb Ass Patriot

Hi green anarchist,
Well i just have some point to get through...

1. Civilization is a key human trate. Why must civilization die? i think that its a key point in living sure we need parks etc to keep sanity. What do you want to resort to? Like tribes vilages? Thats civilization to my knowlage in these tribes arnt there a chief hunters etc seems like civilization to me! I totally understand that but to ruin and demolish civilsation? I do agree in making the world a

greener place! But i dont think violence is the key, people just isnt they way to get points through. I understand on how big corporations are careless belive me I know. Money is more important than the custimer. But, I dont think rasing hell is the sulition (ps my spelling sucks).

2. Please dont talk about our armed forces. Im totaly do not get along with our current president. Dont think i dont know on how careless he is. With bill our country had a 6 trillion surplus with bush its the opposite. But do not degrade the men and women fighting please. Im planning on joing the marines and try my best. I dont really want to pull the trigger on another human being. I think all wars after ww2 are all poiliceing acts i totaly agree on that. But talking junk isnt the key...

...over all we might not agree on some things but give me some feed back so I understand what you ppl are after. and tring to accomplish. Well i hope someday some of your needs are met.

good luck
would love feedback
Chris

Refusing To Be Enslaved

collective@greenanarchy,
The wild are fighting back against their magician masters, refusing to be enslaved and forced to perform tricks for the

bourgeois at Las Vegas casinos. By the way, good work on the new issue, can't get enough *Statler and Waldorf*.

adam

OFF! magazine

Alternative Ways To Exist

Green Anarchy,

The first issue of *Green Anarchy* to come into my hands was #14, followed all at once by #s 11-13. I commend you for your gutsiness, for your willingness to experiment, for your resistance to the doctrinaire, and for your reaching out to prisoners, even as - inevitably - I disagree with some of the positions taken in articles.

Reading through these issues, I come away with the impression of a kind of quantum jump in #14, though perhaps it's more consistent with earlier #s, I don't know. I refer especially to pages #1-7, including the graphics. Assertive discursivity such as seems to dominate in #s 11-13 can so easily close out the reader, making for an experience of distancing and non-involvement, and so defeating its own purpose. It can even give the impression that there are no more mysteries, & mysteries, it seems to me, are integral to the process of exploring alternative ways for humans to exist on this planet. "Globalization and its Apologists," "Spreading Like Wildfire," "Autumn Greetings," "A Surrealist Re-Imagining of Canada," "Bringing It All Back Home... And Living My Life," and "Nihilism as Strategy" all - in my opinion - convey a sense of intelligent questioning, an openness to experience, a willingness to involve the reader.

It's in regard to "A Surrealist Re-Imagining of Canada" specifically that I'm writing to you. Reading this piece was a bit uncanny for me, in

(continued on next page)

that just over a year ago, I wrote a visual essay for the website Lear's Shadow called "Discovery Walk in Kafkatown," whose Part 5 pertains to some very odd developments in Labrador. It was written without awareness of the surrealist map, and I'm very appreciative that you've drawn it to my attention. I'd just like to reciprocate by drawing this piece to your attention. The site's address is <http://home.eol.ca/~dord>. It's kept deliberately within limits so as to avoid the suburban sprawl of the mind that's so big a temptation on the internet. "Discovery Walk in Kafkatown" can be reached via the "Canada Reterritorialized" shortcut.

With appreciation
Doug

The Egg or the Chicken?

Dear Green Anarchy, In issue #9, p.2, under the heading "Getting Involved With Green Anarchy," you say "Our goals... the destruction of civilization and all the systems of domination it has spawned." I assume from this statement that you are implying that the state emerged from civilization, that is the state emerged from the city. This is incorrect. The state did *not* emerge from the city but vice versa!! Therefore, the destruction of the state guarantees the destruction of civilization. However, the destruction of civilization will *not* destroy the state!! Thus, as I have already pointed out to your pinhead counterparts in London, England (Green Anarchist) three years ago - and without any response; you would do much better if you changed your motto from "Yours, for the destruction of civilization" to "Yours, for

the destruction of the state and civilization."

Yours truly,
Montezuma
(aka David G. Pearson)

GA Response: We don't have much room for a detailed reply, so we'll be brief. If you have been following this paper, you would be aware that our critique of civilization goes back over 10,000 years to the roots of domination - the domestication of plants and animals. We believe that when humans moved away from our nomadic gatherer-hunter lifestyle to a sedentary and surplus-based existence, that of agriculture and



animal husbandry, civilization and its logic of control began to develop. For most of human history we lived as wild and free beings, without the desire or need for hierarchy and mechanisms of control and repression. While, as anarchists, we are certainly opposed to every aspect of the state, and we see its physical apparatus as the major antagonist of our present situation, we certainly do not feel that all of our problems will disappear with the absence of a state, that

is, not unless we go deeper and attempt to question and challenge the institutions and rationale of control which allowed for the state to develop. Formal and informal institutions of power have existed throughout civilization, including that of the state, which is one of its more contemporary forms of control. Also, while the word "civilization" does have its roots in the word "city", and while the city does represent a perfect example of all the problems within civilization, the logic and roots of civilization, and systems of control like property, patriarchy, and division of labor go back long before the city.

Collapsism?

GA, I'm writing in regards to "the Ideology of Collapse" article from GA #14. I think the article has some serious flaws. My main problem is the idea of creating a huge new label of 'collapsism' which seems to be grounded by little more than a few random quotes and vague references. It seems that this category is a mixture of criticisms of survivalist tendencies and a whole lot of confusion.

The most important issue here seems to be over the idea of 'collapse' itself. This is definitely not a new term or idea and it's actually the subject of huge amounts of argument, theory, etc (enough to counter the statement that much needs to be collected still). I think it has been well established that collapse is not an event, but a process, and it is a fact of inevitability with the major questions really being when and how (what goes up, must come down). So to say that there will be an

ecological catastrophe that is essentially collapse is something that has no historical grounding. Ecological catastrophe or over-stress has been a major factor to set off the process of collapse in nearly every case (as it will our own), but that is a starting point for a number of other factors which include social unrest and revolt. This is the case from Easter Island to Rome to the Mayans.

So the problem here is an oversimplification (though admittedly the authors' aren't the only ones doing it). Collapse is generally defined as a major reduction of 'complexity' or stratification, more or less a huge draw back. By definition, any revolt or insurrection which results in a major reduction of state powers or decentralization is collapse. So any anarchist would be, by definition, a 'collapsist'.

I think one of the most fundamental problems spreads from the statement: "The idea that civilization will collapse on its own implies that we should wait for its collapse..." Where this notion comes from is beyond me, but it is flawed. What the authors seem to forget is that civilization isn't only weighted by ecological stress; it is equally stressed socially and mentally. The fact that people are pissed off and dispossessed or that they will revolt or will drop out or not go to work are all within collapse. Most importantly, we can't forget that humans are a part of nature as well, we are still animals. Nature being an agent in collapse isn't just some abstract notion, but also a part of us; the refusal to be domesticated and further subjugated is within our 'nature'. The same applies to notions of 'primitive' since it's not about people of a certain time and/or

place, but about a part of ourselves that is constantly surging, which is what green anarchy typically responds to.

The idea that capitalism is somehow going to avoid collapse is just a part of its own dogma. The idea that our situation is somehow novel was what Fredy Perlman was attacking in *Against History, Against Leviathan*. His point, that there are no longer 'civilizations', but one global civilization is an extremely important point. Capitalism is a recent thing historically and the kinds of extreme oppression and domination inherent in it make it dependent upon a lot of uncertainty. Not to forget that it is all entirely dependent upon having electricity running through the grid which is very vulnerable, especially to flaws of its 'success'.

The last thing I'll mention here is the seemingly negative idea of "storing nuts and spreading chaos" as is mentioned a number of times in the article. This little shot is obviously a complete reduction of learning primitive skills and, ironically, insurrection. Really I don't see what is negative about these things because the combination, which is often put as 'for the destruction of civilization and the reconnection to life' seems to cover almost all pertinent angles that green anarchists tend to focus on.

On a bit of an unrelated aspect: to all the prisoners who've asked for a copy of *Species Traitor*, the reason you haven't gotten one (or a response in most cases) is because we don't have the copies or money for postage, esp. since it's not likely to make it into most prisons anyways. Many apologies for this, but hopefully we can work something out for future issues.

For wildness and
anarchy,
kevin tucker

Petty and Feeble Criticism From a Classical Anarchist

Dear Friends,

My name is Dimitri, but you can use the name James Sotros (which is actually a nickname). In the past year I was living in Athens, Greece, and last February I returned here to Australia where I was living since 1992. For the last two years you send me all the time 10-15 copies of every issue of *Green Anarchy*. OK, I distribute them where I can, but I have got a strong disagreement with your politics and with your tendency toward so-called anarcho-primitivism. I have also some different approaches and information about news you publish every time in *Green Anarchy*, especially news from Greece. You must know that despite the last 11 years when I've mostly lived outside of Greece, I have lots of contacts with groups and individuals from there. I follow everyday the Greek news though the internet. I also work with a Greek newspaper here in Melbourne which has direct connections with Greece on a daily basis.

So, I can make sure that some of your news about Greece has any sense of reality, as you present them like they're small rebellions, etc. But they're not like that. For example, in *Green Anarchy* (#12) you have a piece about someone who made an assassination attempt against the recently elected Mayor of Athens. Why did you include this piece? Why did you try to present his actions as an anarchist, or at least as a revolutionary action? There was nothing revolutionary in that case. That is, can we present some actions by some people as revolutionary, as being against the system, when at the same time they weren't like that? What kind of counter information is this? Who gave you such information? Some anarchist over in Greece whose only presence and involvement in the so-called social struggles is causing any means and any cost of trouble, without a perspective and a revolutionary program for the future? Come on, get real and search for the real events with their real consequences...

Or the other example: For a long time now, you strongly support the "17 November" armed group and also other like-minded organizations. Why? Because they oppose with the armed way the capitalist system? You don't care if groups like them are strongly authoritarian, closed, militarized cliques who only want to grab some authority when they can and when they have the opportunity to do so? You don't get wind of their authoritarian, patriotic, anti-anarchist, marxist-leninist, wooden "analysis" of things?

Have you read the declarations and all articles of "17 November" after their every attempt, to see how they think and want to act? Have you read their positions about the anarchist movement in Greece? Or do you simply publish news and support them because some anarchists (probably the same ones I mentioned before) have lost their direction, have lost the plot and support this organization which some years ago they strongly attacked through their publications? What happened? Where be your anarchism my friends?

Or the other example about the book *Shoot the Women First*: It happens the proof reading in the Greek language of the book, when it was translated and published in Greece (a few months ago), was done by me. I cooperated closely with the translator. I did that for money when I was living in Athens last year. So I can say that this book is nothing more than journalistic description of the actions of some women members of armed groups and has nothing to offer to the revolutionary affair. Therefore, I don't see any reason to review it in a so-called anarchist publication like *Green Anarchy*. Anyway, I have got many such things to write, but I can't do so now.

I also disagree totally with the tendency of the so-called anarcho-primitivists. Because simply, it is impossible to return to a situation like 2,000 or more years ago. Get real, friends. You use the modern technology as well. Come on... Also, anarcho-primitivism offers nothing to the anarchist movement because it doesn't promote class struggle, etc. Anarchism is first of all a part, a vital part, of the working class struggle and the struggle of all oppressed. Nothing less, nothing more. Anarchism is not the product of the minds of some middle or upper class kids who pretend to be revolutionaries and live in an imaginary sphere.

So, please do not send me so many copies of *Green Anarchy* again. I am not distributing any more as I disagree with you. But, if you like to send me just one copy for my archive, that's ok.

For the Anarchist Communist Perspective,
Dimitri (James Sotros)



(Editor's response on next page)

Toward a Complete Severance With the Modern World!

A Green Anarchy Editor Responds to James Sotros

Well, Dimitri.

You've made some pretty inflammatory accusations (and jumped to some seriously erroneous conclusions about our politics), but we're grateful for the feedback, 'cause it gives us the chance to clarify where we stand on certain issues, like revolutionary solidarity and the role of the underground press. We're gonna be covering a lot of ground here, so let's take this one subject at a time:

You're clearly irritated by our coverage of the December 14, 2002, assassination attempt on Athens Mayor Dora Bakoyianni, insinuating that we tried to present this news item as an "anarchist action." But our extremely brief mention of this incident in *Green Anarchy* #12 didn't appear in our "Anarchist Resistance" news section, it appeared in a section called, "Further Symptoms of State Meltdown," which is devoted to miscellaneous news dealing with random acts of sabotage and primal, INSTINCTUAL acts of rebellion, which to us reveal a lot about the present condition of modern civilization. Actions don't need to be self-consciously "political" to stand as living commentary on the rapid disintegration of the Modernist Spectacle, and the refusal of humans everywhere to be caged and controlled. "Nonpolitical" acts of revolt are almost of *more* interest to us than deliberate and calculated revolutionary acts because they provide us with "signals through flames" that help chart the various factors that will eventually bring down this empire; they allow us to catch glimpses of societal contradictions and tensions that the System itself may not be paying attention to, and they help us to make fairly accurate predictions or guesses about the irresolvable problems our rulers will be burdened with in the not-so-distant future.

Assassinations of politicians, CEOs, heads of state, and the pigs are a sign of the times, and are a growing trend that we're greatly encouraged by. Call us sadistic, but we personally took great delight in hearing about the facial cuts that Bakoyianni received from the flying glass shards released by a single bore shotgun bullet that came through her windshield and came close to hitting her (just as we do anytime we hear about a politician or member of the ruling class suffering — or preferably — getting wasted). Who cares if the establishment media in Greece is describing Bakoyianni's assailant — 35-year-old

Giorgos Sandallis — as "mentally ill"? He was at least firing in the right direction and seemed to have a pretty clear grasp of some of the forces and institutions at work in the world that might be driving him "insane."

But, as it turns out, this assassination attempt was actually more "political" than we realized when we reported on it: Sitting on our desk right now, as we type this, is a stack of newspaper clippings from Greece that help flush out this story and offer more details about Sandallis' psychological motivations in relation to this attack. Sandallis had some interesting and somewhat comical

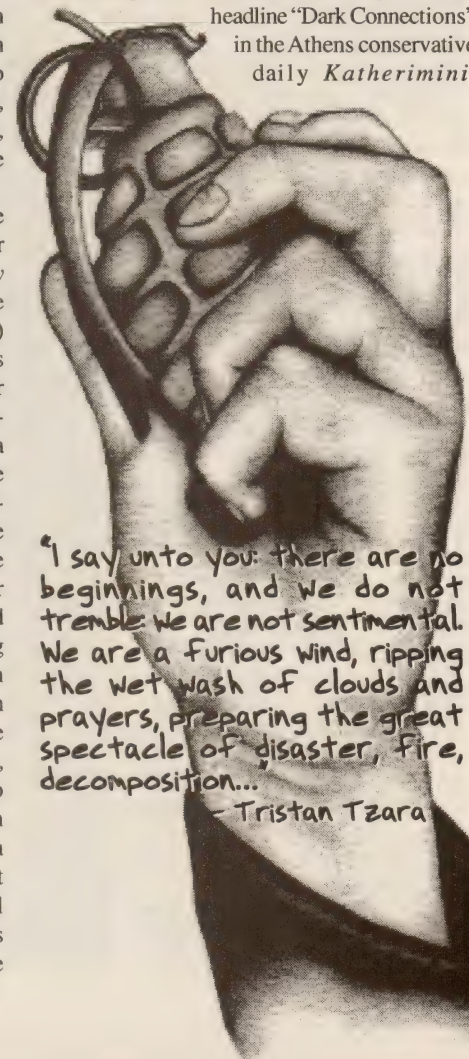
reasons for firing on Mayor Bakoyianni, and is quoted as saying, "I do not want to kill. I shot at the air, but 'magic powers' drove the bullets to the car. The Government is haunting me and wants to take a specimen of my DNA and imprison me." Knowing that, the whole incident seems even *more* relevant to us (and evidently it was also considered newsworthy by *A-News* in Greece, who saw fit to include it in a recent issue!) So, obviously we're not the only anarchists with a sense of humor and an appreciation for poetic justice...

Now let's talk about N17 and the Left: since the present editorial collective took over publishing responsibilities for *Green Anarchy* with issue #5, we're consistently lambasted the Left, and our "support" for N17 (as you call it) has been anything BUT uncritical. The politics of the Left — even the ARMED Left — are, for the most part, incredibly BORING to us and antithetical to the anarchist project, but there's a HUGE difference between reporting on the activities of a non-anarchist revolutionary movement and endorsing their politics. What you have to understand is that in North America there are very few publications that provide a forum for information on armed struggle, but the demand and THIRST for this type of information among anarchists is enormous. *Arm the Spirit*, an autonomist/anti-imperialist journal published in Toronto, is the only North American paper we know of that specializes in this kind of information, and for 10 years they've done a great job disseminating documents and communiques from clandestine armed groups, as well as creating a non-sectarian forum for a variety of militant movements and struggles. We find the political discussions and translations of news that appears in *Arm the Spirit* to be extremely useful to the

anarchist movement, and feel that, as REVOLUTIONARIES, we owe it to ourselves to be informed about the actions by and politics of armed resistance movements.

As an explicitly ANARCHIST paper, we have no interest in taking the concepts of "revolutionary solidarity" to the absurdly non-discerning extremes that *Arm the Spirit* does, but we sure appreciate their publishing project and feel that radical movements here in the States suffer from the scarcity of this type of information. Which is why we occasionally report on groups and struggles that aren't anarchist, but that we find interesting, particularly if the movement or group in question has some redeeming qualities and are fighting their own isolated battles with the States' agents of repression. At the very least, we feel that groups like N17 and ELA deserve to have their struggles and actions accurately represented, especially in the face of the slander and lies of the Greek press (an example of blatant falsifications concerning N17 would be the July 7, 2002 headline "Dark Connections"

in the Athens conservative daily *Katherimini*,



"I say unto you: there are no beginnings, and we do not tremble: we are not sentimental. We are a furious wind, ripping the wet wash of clouds and prayers, preparing the great spectacle of disaster, fire, decomposition..."

— Tristan Tzara

which made the ridiculous claim that N17 combatant Savas Xiros "had connections to Islamic fundamentalists in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.")

And, for the record, there's a tremendous amount of research and investigative reporting that goes into producing each and every issue of *Green Anarchy*. In the case of N17, we wrote to more than 20 comrades and contacts in Greece asking them for some anarchist analysis of the N17 clampdown, and we basically printed all the responses we got. When the replies started pouring in, we were mildly surprised at the number of anarchist solidarity actions with N17, but we didn't realize the extent of them until we (very) recently received word of a slew of similar actions that never got reported on in previous issues of *Green Anarchy*. Based on information we now possess, it would seem that the anarchist response to the War on Terrorism in Greece was swift and uncompromising. For example:

- On July 7, 2002, the automatic cash accounting machine of Aspis Bank in Galatsi (a suburb of Athens) is set on fire. Responsibility for this action is taken by a group calling itself "Floges Sinidisis" (Flames of Consciousness). In a call to a newspaper, they state: "The responsibility for the destruction of the branch offices is taken by the group 'Floges Sinidisis,' as a response to the terror lust and the anti-terrorist hysteria of these days. The arsons will go on and we will show no mercy towards the Greek state-terrorists and their servants."

- On September 24, 2002, there is an attack with petrol bombs against the local branch offices of PASOK (the ruling political party) at Neos Cosmos. The group "Epanastatiki Taxiarchia" (Revolutionary Brigade) claims responsibility with a call to a newspaper, saying: "Solidarity to N17, Freedom to G. Karakasian who is imprisoned in Cyprus."

- On September 25, 2002, the entrance of the branch offices of Citibank in Lambrini are set on fire. The group "Antitromokratiki Omada Os Edo" (Anti-Terrorist Group Up To Here) claim responsibility with a call to a newspaper, saying that the attack was done "as an act of solidarity with D. Koufontinas and the rest of the strugglers of N17. The attacks will go on with tension over the next few days. The struggle goes on."

- On October 4, 2002, a car with American plates in the suburbs of Athens is set on fire. The group "Mavro Asteri" (Black Star) takes responsibility with a calling to a newspaper, saying that: "Resistance is to American imperialism and its local partners. Freedom to D. Koufodinas and to all unrepentant members of Revolutionary Organization 17N."

- And finally, on December 10, 2002, the offices of the Cypriot Democratic Party and the offices of a state insurance company are set on fire in Thessalonica. Responsibility is taken (in a call to a newspaper) by "Kaftos Himonas" (Hot Winter) who state: "With the arsons of the offices of democratic Alarm and the I.K.A. insurance

organization, we demand the immediate freedom of the anarchist Giorgos Karakasian at Cyprus. It was also a solidarity actions with the unrepentants of Revolutionary Organization 17 November."

So, Dimitri, you might not be *happy* about such actions, but it doesn't change the fact that they *happened*: you accuse us of liberally interpreting current events through our biased ideological lens, while at the same time, you project your *own* political grid onto the N17 movement, denying the complexity and uniqueness of their struggle. N17, as confused as their politics were at times, *was not* a stereotypical leftist sect, they had their own strengths and their own singular qualities, they had their own gripes with the Organized Parties of the Left, and they *did* enjoy a certain level of support from anarchists in Greece, though you seem unable to come to grips with this. But like it or not, those are the *facts*, so who's distorting the truth, us or you?

Whether or not the N17 arrestees "deserve" support from anarchists is a subject that could be endlessly debated, but one thing anarchists *everywhere* could learn from these actions is how the concept of "revolutionary solidarity" is *applied* and *practiced* in Greece and how these tactics could be used to help some of our own imprisoned comrades (here in the States, Free, Critter and Rob los Ricos are the first to come to mind). The anarchist movement needs to begin developing tactics appropriate to the times we live in, and it stands to reason that if you accept armed struggle as a strategy and method, then you would study the groups that are *practicing* and *living* it. In that context it becomes obvious why reading a book like *Shoot the Women First* (or at least paying attention to the unraveling of a group like N17) could be a valuable learning experience for revolutionary anarchists. Information isn't *always* power, but the *right kind* of information usually is.

Of course, we oppose nationalism and statism — we're anarchists, after all — but we don't find it necessary to include political disclaimers with every "controversial," "taboo" exploration into non-anarchist territory. This would insult the intelligence of our readers, who we would like to believe are freethinkers fully capable of extracting what's useful from our straight news coverage on their own, without any assistance. In fact, we kind of take for granted that this is the case, because if it isn't, then the "revolutionary" movement here in the States is in serious trouble!

As far as Technology goes, it seems clear that authoritarians, states-in-waiting, and current regimes use technology to *strengthen* government a lot more successfully than anarchists use it to weaken government and ultimately, abolish power. You're deluded if you think "activist" or anarchist deployment of modern technology is really accomplishing anything more than further toxifying our planet and our lives, or that, on the occasions when high-tech can be turned against the mega-machine (i.e. a computer virus or well placed incendiary device), that technology

somehow deserves the credit! We suggest you take a deeper, more extended look at technology, especially if you don't like being ruled.

And while its true that many anarcho-primitivist writers and journals don't specifically discuss or emphasize class struggle, that certainly isn't the case with *Green Anarchy*. We make our hatred of the ruling class abundantly clear in every issue of *Green Anarchy*, which leads us to the conclusion that you (like many of our "critics") don't really *read* the paper. Anarcho-primitivism — or the critique of civilization — is class analysis that does not go halfway, that doesn't remain trapped in capitalist logic (as communism does), that attacks alienation, domestication and division of labor at their *roots*...their *civilized* roots.

As an anarcho-communist, we're sure you're familiar with Marx's call for "merciless criticism of everything in existence." Well, that's precisely what we're attempting to do with this paper, mercilessly critique everything the racketeers in charge of our lives present as "solid reality," external, immovable, unchanging... civilization is a racket, authority is a racket, and Modernity a plague of nightmares, a life-drinking malevolence, the rationalization of human misery in the epoch of capitalist decline that André Breton designated "miserablism."

We want to destroy capitalism as much as you, but we want to destroy it permanently, not just knock it back for a few centuries. Doing so requires the abolition of just about everything that currently exists, and primitivists are some of the only people saying this.



FERAL VISIONS AGAINST CIVILIZATION

The 2nd Annual "Black and Green Anarchist Gathering"
When: July 24th–August 1st or July 31st–August 8th, 2004

The Black and Green Network is beginning to plan for a week-long gathering in the beautifully wild southern Cascades of Oregon. After taking part in the various anarchist and environmental events and conferences, we felt that there was a need to have a gathering focusing solely on what seems to fall through the cracks: rewilding, both physically and mentally. From this came the idea for last year's successful gathering. Our goal is to help bring people into a wild environment, to break down mediation between ourselves and our world, and to encourage active participation with it. The gathering will provide an introduction to the various strands of anti-civilization thought, as well as being an in-depth forum for discussing and developing the theoretical and practical aspects of anarcho-primitivism/green anarchy. We will focus on trying to connect face-to-face and deal with issues that are brought up within the critiques, making stronger connections with one another, and applying our visions to our lives. There will be a heavy emphasis on primitive skill-sharing and collective experience. We are hoping to create an environment where people are willing to share, grow, and have a good time. The entire event is centered on active participation and we hope that people will bring their knowledge/experience.

For more info, check out:

www.greenanarchy.org or www.blackandgreen.org/gathering.html
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Anti-NATO and Green Anarchist Gathering in Turkey!

(Proposed Dates: May 20-22, 2004)

Dear Friends and Comrades,

We are Green Anarchists and Anarcho-Primitivists from Turkey. On May 20-22 of 2004 there will be a NATO summit in Istanbul, the big metropolis of Turkey Land...And we want to show our response to the techno-industrial system, civilization and all kinds of authoritarians through a series of anti-system demos and direct actions (although it will be purely symbolic to protest NATO). At the same time, as Green Anarchists and Anarcho-Primitivists, we are considering a "Green Anarchist Gathering", as we feel it is important for us to meet, share our ideas and experiences of primitive lifestyles and skills, and build a GA movement worldwide, and to show our solidarity all over the world. We think it would be effective to meet at the anti-NATO summit and at the same time have a GA gathering in Turkey. Let's meet in Direct Action!

Black and Green Greetings...

Kara Yesil—karayesil2000@yahoo.com

Veganarsi Fanzine—veganarsi2003@yahoo.com

Earth Liberation Prisoners/ Turkey—elp-ir@hotmail.com

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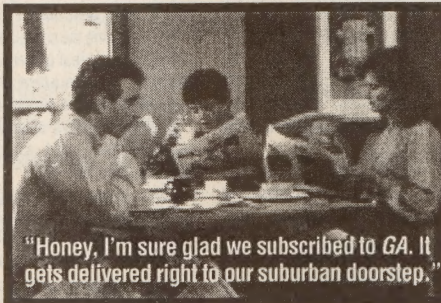
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Taken from the book, this essay presents a scathing critique of civilization and technology.

Grand Juries: Tools Of Political Repression Craig Rosebraugh \$1
Analysis of grand juries by someone who's been through them.

If An Agent Knocks Anonymous \$2
All you need to know about visits by the feds.

Industrial Domestication: Industry As The Origins Of Modern Domination Leopold Roc \$1
This essay shows why the struggle for workers' autonomy must be one to destroy industrialism.

Industrial Society & It's Future: The Unabomber's Manifesto F.C. (Unabomber) \$4
An in-depth manifesto against industrialism.

INTERROGation: The CIA's Secret Manual On Coercive Questioning \$5
56-page reprint of the CIA's interrogation manual. Describes methods of physical and mental torture to "induce compliance" from "unwilling subjects."

Lessons Of Easter Island Clive Ponting \$1
Taken from his amazing book *A Green History of the World*.

Let's Get Free! \$3-5 (with all money over printing and mailing costs going to Free)
28-page zine about Jeff "Free" Luers, earth defender, anarchist, and political prisoner currently serving 23 years for a politically-motivated arson. Contains writings, poetry, and artwork by Free, as well as other writings.

Libres y Salvajes: la diversidad insurreccion \$2
A compilation of insurrectionary and green anarchist writings, including Feral Faun, John Moore, Robin Terranova, Willful Disobedience, and Killing King Abakus. Translated into Spanish by Llavor d' Anarquía in Barcelona, Spain.

Listening To The Land: An Interview With Ward Churchill by Derrick Jensen \$1
This interview with American Indian Movement activist Ward Churchill was reprinted from Derrick's book, *Listening To The Land: Conversations About Nature, Culture and Eros*.

Minimanual Of The Urban Guerrilla Carlos Marighella \$4
The nature of urban guerrilla warfare by the Brazilian anarcho-communist.

Native Resistance To Canada Various native solidarity groups \$2
An overview of modern Native struggles against colonialism.

Non-Violence & Its Violent Consequences William Meyers \$2
Pacifist absurdity debunked.

On The Road Again: Direct Action Underground \$2
Some basics you need to know about the nature of underground and clandestine resistance.

Our Enemy, Civilization \$3
Essays against civilization, industrialism, and modernity.

Primitivist Primer John Moore \$1
An interesting and very accessible introduction to the movement against civilization.

Prison Abolition Yves Borque \$2
A unique critique of the prison system.

Quiet Rumours: An Anarcha-Feminist Reader, the Dark Star Collective \$3
This pamphlet is made from about half of a new compilation of some of the most important anarcho-feminist articles of the past century.

Rebel's Dark Laughter: Writings Of Bruno Filippi Venomous Butterfly Publications \$3
Selected writings and poetry by this late Italian anarchist insurrectionary.

Security Culture Free!
Basic precautions for activists and direct action-oriented folks

Society Against The State Pierre Clastres \$1
An analysis of the anti-authoritarian nature of many indigenous peoples by this French anarchist anthropologist.

Some Notes On Insurrectionary Anarchism Killing King Abacus \$2
An introduction to the insurrectionary school of anarchist thought.

Stopping The Industrial Hydra: Revolution Against The Megamachine George Bradford \$2
A look at the ecological disasters perpetuated by industrial capitalism and technological civilization.

This Is What Democracy Looks Like VBP \$2
Essays criticizing the anti-globalization movement and the paltry ideal of democracy.

Towards The Creative Nothing: Selected Writings Of Renzo Novatore VBP \$2
A great compilation of rants by this obscure anarcho-individualist revolutionary.

Undesirables VBP \$2
Articles about technology and the class struggle translated from various Greek and Italian anarchist publications.

We All Live In Bhopal David Watson \$1
In the technological society, we are all subjected to poisonous chemicals and contaminations.

Weeping Willow Coalition Against Civilization \$2
Contains herbal remedies, wild foods and medicines, and some basic primitive skills

Writings Of The Vancouver Five \$3
A great compilation of writings by the members of the ecology-minded anarcho-feminist Canadian urban guerrillas known as the Wimmen's Fire Brigade and Direct Action.

The Fredy Perlman Collection:

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism \$3
A concise and critical look at national liberation struggles from an anarchist perspective

Anti-Semitism and the Beirut Pogrom \$2
A look at the inherent racism within Zionism, and the condition of an oppressed people becoming an oppressor.

Ten Theses on the Proliferation of Egocrats \$1
A brief look at the rationality and development of the ego-leader/dictator.

Progress and Nuclear Power \$1 (or 25 for \$10)
This essay traces the systematic colonization of North America, and links it to the mind-set which perpetuates industry and nuclear power.
(Get all four of Fredy Perlman essays from Red and Black Press for \$5)

NEW!

fawda Venomous Butterfly Publications \$3
Analyzes the struggle in Palestine from an insurrectional anarchist perspective.

Back to Basics, volume one: The Origins of Civilization \$1 Green Anarchy
This lays out some basic anarcho-primitivist assumptions and questions.

Zines:

Black Clad Messenger All back issues available (#1-30). \$3 each. \$35 for complete set.

The (now deceased) uncompromising journal of unapologetic anti-industrial and anti-liberal anarchism from the good 'ol days of Eugene.

Break The Chains Current issue only \$2
Newsletter with writings by prisoners and news about anti-capitalist resistance and state repression in the Northwest.

Disorderly Conduct Issues #1 and #2 are \$2 each, #3 and #4 are \$3 each, #5 and #6 are \$5 each, and \$18 for the complete set.

The thick insurrectionary green-anarchist publication, brought to you by the "Bring On The Ruckus" Society. Sorry, it almost never makes it into prisons.

Willful Disobedience Venomous Butterfly Publications. Current issue only \$2
One of the most intelligent and sophisticated insurrectionary anarchist publication out there, consistently comes out every two months.

Books:

Anarchy After Leftism Bob Black \$5
A scathing critique of Murray Bookchin and his particular form of social anarchism.

Elements Of Refusal John Zerzan \$15
Johnny Z's extensive research attempts to trace the roots of domination. From time, agriculture, language, and so on to the various other forms of social control to domesticate and dominate all life.

Running On Emptiness John Zerzan \$15
John's new book includes "Time & Its Discontents," "Whose Unabomber," "Abstract Expressionism," John's memoir "So, How Did You Become An Anarchist" and many other great essays.

Videos/DVDs/CDs:

Anarchy In Spain Rottin' and Johnny Productions \$12 (VHS), now available as a double DVD set for \$18

An account of two green anarchists' 2001 tour of Spain, including visits to squats, CNT museums, and interviews with contemporary anarchists.

Breaking The Spell: Anarchy, Eugene and the WTO Pick Axe Productions \$12

The most accurate and inspiring documentary of the N30 protests in Seattle.

Fuck The System and Takin' It Down! Destruction Productions \$15 (VHS), now available as a double DVD set for \$20, or \$12 for each film.

FTS is a 60-minute music-documentary of anarchist uprisings in Eugene and around the world, including various inciteful music videos!

TID!, the long-awaited sequel, is an additional 60 minutes of anti-civilization music and videos.

U.S. Of The Planet: An Evening With Ward Churchill And Chellis Glendinning \$12 on Video, \$8 for CD.

A wonderful documentation of two speeches delivered by Ward and Chellis on June 17th, 2001.

Surplus \$12
New collage/commentary by Italian filmmaker, Erik Gandini takes a hard look at the grotesque nature of civilization and the multifaceted resistance to it. Tackling weighty themes like consumption, technology, objectification, and domination.



"In Wildness is the preservation of the World. Every tree sends its fibers forth in search of the Wild. The cities import it at every price. Men plow and sail for it. From the forest and the wilderness come the tonics and barks which brace mankind.... I believe in the forest, and in the meadow, and in the night in which the corn grows.... Give me a wildness whose glance no civilization can endure...." - Henry David Thoreau *Walking*, 1862

Wildness



Last Thoughts



We are collectively staring down
the barrel of a gun,
Anticipating our final breaths,
With voices gagged
And hands tied.

Though our eyes have been
blindfolded since birth
And we have grown deathly cold,
We know in our hearts what
brought us to these dark days
...these empty times

We know it was the sickness
of greed,
The ideology of control,
And the machines of metal
which produced this matrix
of torture!

Desperation is at the gate
And death's cold desolation
upon us
Yet, hope still flickers
somewhere within...

Not of a new regime or
another management team
for this vacuous nightmare,
Not of a pipe-dream utopia
or illusions of a Great Leap
Forward,

Not of a new society of
ideology and morality,
But a hope that we may
unleash our destructive rage
on the machine at dusk
And to awaken the infinite
possibilities and desires
at dawn.

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